

Radical Periodicals In The United States 1890-1960

1890-1960

RADICAL PERIODICALS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1890-1960

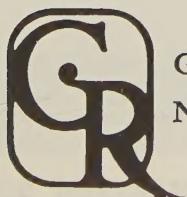
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Volume 11

1910-1911



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Introduction

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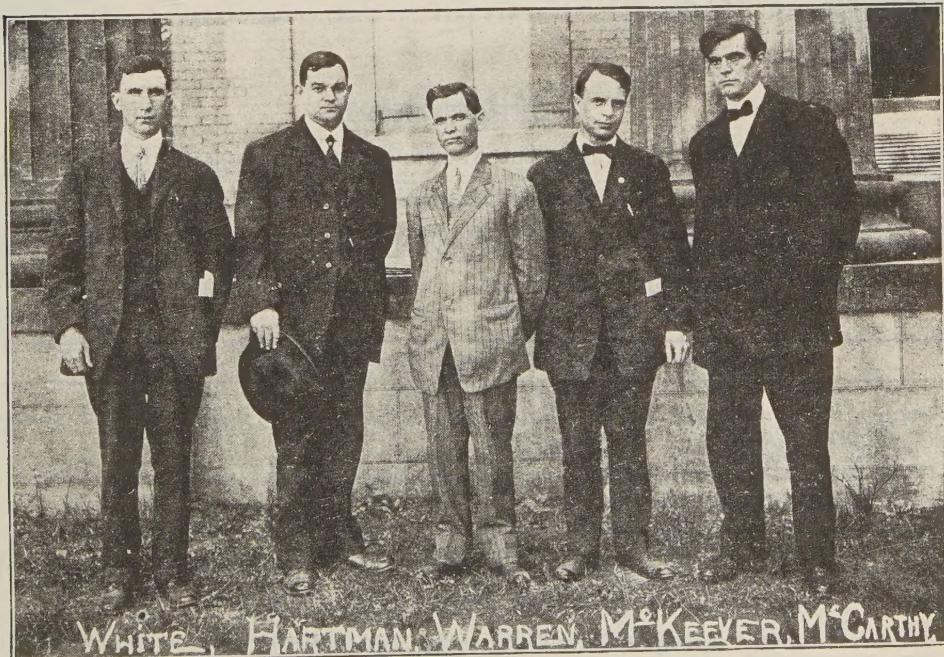
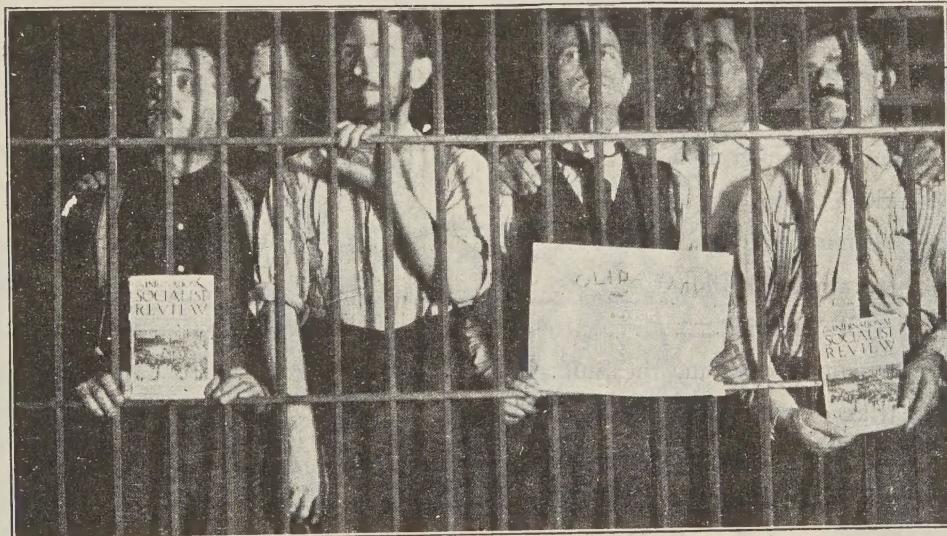
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JULY, 1910

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The International Socialist Review



THE FREE PRESS FIGHT AT NEW CASTLE — By FRED D. WARREN

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: Mary E. Marcy, Robert Rives La Monte, Max S. Hayes, William E. Bohn

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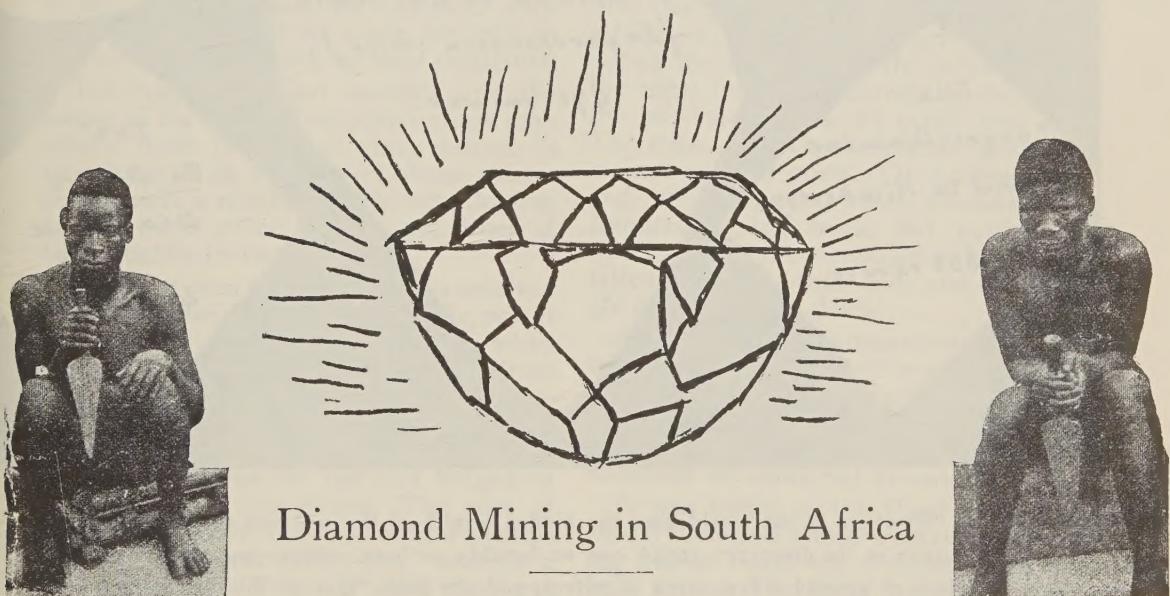


THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. XI

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No. 1



Diamond Mining in South Africa

By TOM MANN



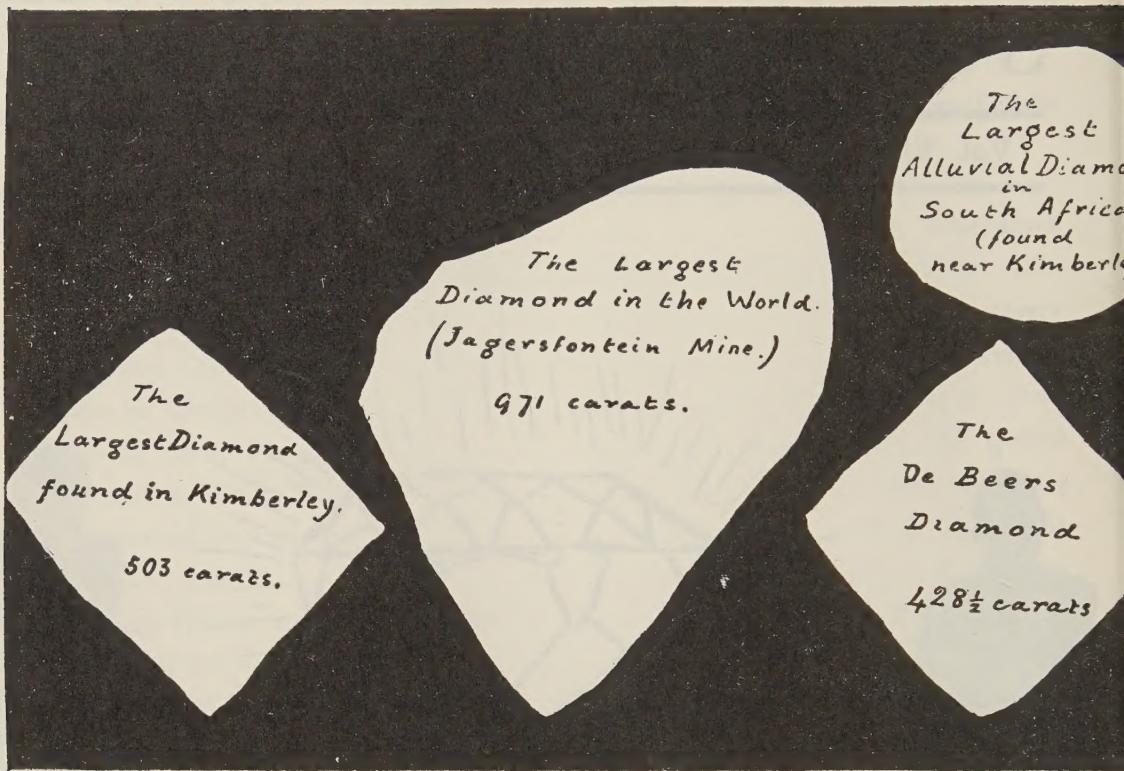
T may interest the readers of the I. S. Review to know of the industrial and social conditions of South Africa. Since leaving Australia three months ago I have been studying the economic conditions of this country and find them full of interest and more than usually complex.

Industrially the principal centre is Johannesburg in the Transvaal. The gold Reef there known as the Witwatersrand, usually termed the Rand, is fully fifty miles in extent, with the town of Johannesburg in the centre. On this reef there are seventy companies, controlling as many groups of mines. There are over four hundred shafts at work; and the

labour of the mines is done by 23,000 white men and 170,000 Kaffirs, i. e. African natives. These are never referred to as "Colored" men here, but as "natives" or "Kaffirs"; the term "colored" being used exclusively to denote those who have some white blood in them, but, of course, not the "Whites."

These Kaffirs are a serious economic factor, and add very considerably to the difficulties of the labor problem. All skilled mechanical work is done by white men on and about the mines, but the actual mining is done by the natives supervised by white men.

Because the payment given to Kaffirs is so trifling they are plentifully used as laborers and helpers to the white man; the latter, as mechanic, has several natives attending him, tool fetching, heavy lift-



"Nowhere in the world does the hidden wealth of the soil and the element of chance in its discovery strike one so forcibly as here, where you are shown a piece of ground a few acres in extent, and are told, "Out of this pit diamonds of the value of more than \$60,000,000 have been taken."

"Kimberly, the city of diamonds, has had a curious history. In 1869-70 the precious crystals, first found in 1867 near the Orange River, were discovered here in considerable quantities. A sudden rush of adventurers from all parts of South Africa, as well as Europe, gave it in three or four years, a population of many thousands. The mining claims were then and for some years afterward, in the hands of a large number of persons and companies, who had opened them or purchased them. The competition of these independent mine workers was bringing down the price of the stones, and the waste or leakage arising from the theft of stones by the native work-people, who sold them to European illicit diamond-buyers, seriously reduced the profits of mining. It was soon seen that the consolidation of the various concerns would effect enormous savings and form the only means of keeping up the price of diamonds Since the amalgamation, the great corporation, called the De Beers Consolidated Mining Co., has reduced the output of diamonds to just such an annual output as experience has proved that Europe and America—the United States is the chief market—are able to take at a price high enough to leave a large profit."

—Impressions of South Africa, by James Bryce, pages 201-204.

ing, etc., etc., and the white man usually bosses the black man as a most superior and lordly personage.

In mining, where the machine drills are used, the white man is responsible for the machines being properly fixed, and for handling the explosives, and doing the firing. Outside of this he does no work, but, as in some instances he is responsible for five or six drills, his responsibility is heavy enough and he is required in attendance at one or other of them for most of his time. Usually he contracts with the management at so much per fathom and takes all risks with no fixed minimum.

The wages are paid monthly and the wages of the contracting miner range anywhere from twenty to sixty pounds a month, with an average of about thirty-five pounds a month; this is not allowing for lost time which may be put down at two months in twelve.

It will be seen that this wage is received at the expense of the Native Kaffir, not at the expense of the profit receiver, when it is realised that the Kaffir receives from two shillings to three shillings and six-pence a day; the average being about fifty shillings a month. In addition to this wage the natives are fed and lodged in compounds on the mines. The cost of feeding a Kaffir is only about four pounds a year. He gets "mealy pap" and for a change, beans. Twice a week they get meat.

In the slopes where hammer-men work, and not the machine rock drills, all the hammering is done by the Kaffirs, a day's work being put at a three feet hole, and more than this the Kaffir refuses to do, albeit by degrees, they succeed in demanding a three feet six inch hole.

The Kaffirs usually are contracted for, for six months, sometimes for twelve months. During all this period they must live in the compounds and be inside the compounds by nine o'clock at night. As a rule the Kaffir has no food before starting work in the morning, and takes nothing all day whilst at work, which means the average Kaffir has one meal a day only, while working in the mines; and that meal consists almost solely of corn, or "Mealies" as Maize is termed locally.

The working hours are usually eight but frequently nine per shift, and in some

instances ten. The trade unions of the Rand are for the most part very poorly organized, the exceptions being, the Amalgamated Engineers (Machinists) and the Engine Drivers. The Miners have not more than two thousand members, and including all sections not more than five thousand are organized, out of a total white adult male population of thirty thousand. Worse than this, the suicidal sectional unionism that has prevailed hitherto, is of the too well known type; thus two years ago the miners decided to attempt to redress certain grievances, and hoped for the help of the other unions, the most important being the drivers of the hauling engines; all certificated men. The miners struck, the engine drivers remained at their posts. Of the five thousand white miners, three thousand five hundred struck work, but getting no backing from other unionists they utterly failed to achieve their ends and the struggle ended in their defeat.

As the result of an organizing campaign recently conducted, with myself as one of the propagandists, a considerable stimulus has been given, not only to organization, but also to the wisdom of and the necessity of industrial unionism.

It was found on the Rand that of the thirty thousand white workers the existing unions could not embrace more than half, and so, the Rand Industrial Union has been formed, to enroll all others who do not belong to any union, and for whom no union has made provision until now, but it is held to be fundamental and vital that the existing unions shall so modify their rules as speedily as possible, to admit of the unification of each and every union for industrial organization, making avowedly and definitely for the overthrow of the capitalist system.

The workers here would at this stage be very glad to know the present hour attitude of the weightiest men in America as to the best means of dealing with the existing trade unions, and they would be glad to get in closer touch with socialists and unionists of the United States. A few here are bitterly attacking all existing unions and unionists, but are not evidencing any capacity to organize the mass not affected by existing unionists. Of course a strong case can be made out

against the existing trade unions for the poverty of ideal, the selfishness of many officials and the inability of the rank and file to appreciate the true class conscious spirit; and if this view covers the whole situation, then it, were wise to look upon existing unions as obstacles to be removed and this should be done deliberately and speedily. For myself I have declared that this is not the case, far from it. I claim to know the economic organizations well enough to warrant me in declaring that a quite healthy percentage of the members are honest and diligent students of the social problems, and are courageous enough to attempt to bring the existing unions into right relationship with the real spirit and practice of "industrial unionism." It will necessitate an alteration in rules of many organizations, and the separation of the funds subscribed for economic or industrial purposes, from the funds subscribed for friendly society purposes or pensions for old age, but it will be easier and quicker done than their destruction and entire reconstruction could be accomplished; besides when the worst has been said against existing unions, it remains the fact that in the days of dense economic ignorance the best of the workmen joined them and through them and by means of them they waged the class war, guided generally by instinct and without the inspiration afforded by a clearly conceived ideal. Still they fought, and allowing for their environment, they fought exceedingly well. Although the unions in recent years have been astonishingly slow to perceive and to act on intelligent class conscious lines; have even entered upon struggles with weapons as antiquated as the old blunderbus, to engage with an enemy bearing machine guns, aye, and are still respecting this absurd behavior, even so, they are not hopeless, certainly less hopeless than the hordes of unorganized who have refused to listen to the appeals of the organizers, or to toe the line with workmates struggling to raise the standard of life.

So I have encouraged the members of existing unions to use their influence, not to destroy existing organizations, but to get them into line with revolutionary unionism and am hopeful of great changes taking place in this connection.

A brief account of my visit to the Premier Diamond Mine in the Transvaal may be of interest. It is situated some twenty miles from the capital, Pretoria, and is isolated from any other mines or industrial pursuits. The mine is only seven years old. It has yielded enormously; there are now seven hundred and fifty white men working there and thirteen thousand natives. The mine is an open cut one hundred and fifty feet deep, no shaft required as yet. It is three quarters of a mile long and half a mile wide, and one can get a view of three thousand Kaffirs all engaged at "punching" holes with drills eight feet long; all the drilling or punching is done from the surface level, two Kaffirs to each drill. It is not solid rock that contains the diamonds but blue ground, a kind of softish stone. Every six hours two thousand five hundred dynamite and gelatine shots are fired in less than two minutes. The largest diamond ever found was obtained from this mine a short time ago, now known as the famous "Cullinan" diamond, named after the managing director. It was too large to be of commercial value. No one wished to purchase it so the Transvaal government gave £200,000 for it and made a present of it to Queen Alexandria, probably as an advertisement.

The Kaffirs live in compounds fenced in by high wire fence and are not allowed to go out except when their time has expired and they go back to their people. These Kaffirs are recruited by agents who bargain with the chiefs for a money consideration per head. The Kaffir on returning to his tribe has to make the chief a present out of his earnings, usually a cow or the equivalent in sheep, etc.

The Kaffir pays his poll tax out of his earnings and with the balance buys wives, i. e. he gives several cows for a wife and then he gets cows himself and the wives look after the mealie patch (maize) on which they live. The object of a Kaffir's heart is to become possessed of several wives each of whom will work for him and live peacefully.

At Johannesburg the ventilation in most of the mines is very faulty, the rock is particularly hard and some of the mines are five thousand feet deep; miners' phthisis is a common complaint. The



The most striking sight at Kimberly, and one unique in the world, is furnished by the two so-called "compounds" in which the natives who work in the mines are housed, and confined. They are huge inclosures, unroofed, but covered with a wire netting to prevent anything from being thrown out of them over the walls and with a subterranean entrance to the adjoining mines. Every entrance is strictly guarded, and no visitors, white or natives, are permitted, all supplies being obtained from the store within, kept by the company. Punishment for theft of diamonds is very severe.

white miner, supervising the machine drills, lasts only seven and a half years on the average. A young miner arrives from England or Australia physically fit in all respects and, say, twenty-one years of age. The chances are that he will be dead by the time he is twenty-eight, but the Kaffirs die off much more rapidly. They last only about four years, but disease lays hold of them in less than half that time and thousands of them return after a few years at the mines hoping to get wives and cattle, but they die off in a year or so, and no notice is taken of it.

At the cemetery at Braumfontein near Johannesburg rows of graves are kept ready made for the whites. Deaths are numerous and sudden, and in the cemetery a portion of the ground is set aside for Kaffir burials; here also rows of ready dug graves are to be seen at any time, notwithstanding the fact that Kaffirs are buried four in each grave, without any coffin; a blanket is thrown over them and they are dumped in without any ceremony.

I am writing this at Kimberly, Cape Colony. The only industry here is diamond mining. There are five large mines, all owned by the world famous De Beers Co. The area given by a two and a half mile radius from where I sit is the richest in the world, and in many senses the poorest also. The celebrated Kimberly mine situated half a mile from where I write, was formerly worked by several companies. Then came the amalgamation of these companies with the accompanying reorganization of mining methods, and usual result, enormously increased out-put. This still left competing companies, controlling the other adjacent mines. Laterly each of these has been swallowed up by the De Beers and now only one set of capitalist interests obtain. Of course they are like their kind in all other countries, ever retrenching, cutting down working expenses, reducing the staff required by the application of labor saving methods. The number employed in these mines is three thousand white men and sixteen thousand natives. In the town and district there

are some four thousand five hundred white men including the miners already mentioned and the total number of unionists is less than two hundred.

Such are the conditions and instead of grappling with them courageously and organizing industrially in true working class solidarity, the more active look to political and parliamentary methods to bring about changes for the better.

But even here, desperate as the case is, there is a new class of plucky comrades daring to stand out boldly and face the consequences, and I wish to name a good comrade, a Cornish man, a member of the Typographical Union, Councillor Jan Trembach, who has fought magnificently and scored well on behalf of his fellows. Jan is on the Kimberly Municipal Council, not only is he the only working class representative on this council, he is the only socialist councillor in the whole of Cape Colony. As yet Councillor Trembach is not fully assured of the far reaching importance of industrial unionism but this I believe will be altered for the better by and by.

At Johannesburg there is a Socialist Party, also at Cape Town, and systematic propaganda work for revolutionary socialism is kept up, and now that the coun-

try is fairly settled after the effects of the late war, and a United South African Parliament is about to be elected the comrades are preparing to extend their propagandist efforts commensurate with the needs of the case.

The South African Labor Party is the name of the organization to which most of the workers belong who are at all active politically. Some of these are Socialists and they have a Socialist Objective but for the most part, as might be supposed, they are sheltering under a vague indefiniteness, mainly because they attach too much importance to political action and too little to industrial action, guided by intelligence. This however will right itself ere long and I have on the whole found South Africa more advanced in ideas than I had expected. Naturally they look to Britain, Australia and America for a pattern and they will travel as quickly as their comrades in these lands notwithstanding that they are at present handicapped by the colored and native problem.

I send greetings and congratulations to the stalwarts keeping the Socialist flag flying in the United States and particularly do I congratulate the editor and staff of the I. S. Review.

Yes, savagery, barbarism, civilization called upon woman and child to share in life's struggles; but it remained for the age of machinery, the age of "society," the age of the billionaire, the age of general suffrage and democratic governments, the age of triumphant science and free public schools, the age of marvelous inventions—marvelous means of production—to enslave them body and soul. It remained for this age of progress to reduce millions of them to a servitude in which they may well envy the condition of the mediaeval serf or the black slave of the southland.—From *Industrial Problems*, by N. A. Richardson.



Where Bread is Made.

The Bakers' Strike vs. The Bread Trust

BY

CARRIE W. ALLEN



out on strike.

"We can't speed it up such long hours any more. It knocks us out. We want a nine-hour day. It's only a little to you, but it would mean a lot to us."

This had been the burden of the plea they had made to their bosses.

"Do you know what a nine-hour day would cost me?" thundered a big boss

baker. "It would cost me \$8,000 a year."

He was thinking in terms of money. The bakers were thinking in terms of life.

They were thinking of the long sizzling summer nights with the heat of the bakeries ranging from 105 to 115 degrees. Stifling nights when the weak would drop from exhaustion, and the strong would be sapped of all their strength.

The furious pressure of the work, added to the cruelly long hours, sucked all strength from the bakers' muscles and all stamina from their nerves.

Many of the bakers had never heard of a union. Some of the older men remembered the beginning of the struggle, when in 1879, George Block first attempted to

organize the bakers. At that time, the wages in the baking industry averaged \$4. a week and poor compulsory board with the employer. The hours were eighteen daily, and twenty-four on Saturday, often running to twenty-six.

Out of the 6,300 bakers in New York, only twelve were married, and they kept this fact a secret from their masters. Children did not know their fathers and cried at their approach.

The insufficient hours of sleep, long hours in the heated atmosphere, and low standard of life engendered by the sweating system, resulted in the physical and moral degeneracy of the men.

Determined to lift the bakers out of the mire which all but engulfed them, two heroic men, George Block and Charles Iffland, went steadily on with their work of education and organization.

The first effective strike occurred in 1886, when a war was successfully waged against the boarding system. As a result of this strike, all the bakeries in New York were unionized, the hours reduced to twelve daily and fourteen on Saturday, with wages ranging from \$12. to \$16. a week.

The big boss bakers became alarmed at the increasing self-respect of the bakers, who were marrying and establishing little homes. The shorter work-day meant less profits, and in 1889 the same men who are fighting the union today, threw every union man out of the shops, and sought to re-establish old conditions.

By 1909, conditions in the Jewish and Slavonic bake-shops were as bad as they had been in 1884, with wages ranging from \$12. to \$20 a month and never-ending hours. Charles Iffland, now International Organizer of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers, with Max Kazimirsky and other union men, went into these shops, and said to the toil-degraded bakers, "You shall not drag the bakers trade in the mire like this. You shall not work under these intolerable conditions." They threw them out of the shops, they compelled them to go on strike. It was heroic work. It was righteous work.

During the nine long weeks of the general strike on the East side, the bakers were clubbed and beaten, they were arrested and sent to the Island, their

meetings were broken up, they were denied the right of free assemblage and free speech. Despite all this, the solidarity of these hitherto unorganized workers remained unbroken until the strike was won, and every shop was unionized.

The Jewish bakers had begged the men in the big up-town factories to come and help them in their struggle, and had been refused. These men had been exploited until they had no hope of ever bettering their condition. Why rebel, when it was evidently intended that all of a baker's life energy should go into the making of bread.

But now, a year had passed, and rumors were abroad that the Jewish bakers had won great things through their union. A nine-hour day instead of eighteen daily and twenty-four on Saturday. Wages ranging from \$14. to \$24. a week instead of \$12. to \$20. a month. And above all, the prospect of establishing little homes, with happy wives and children.

With courage born of hope, the up-town bakers formulated and made their demands.

Of course the bosses were amazed. Had not the bakers worked for years in their dens like slaves? And whoever heard of slaves demanding a shorter work day? Did not these bakers know that less hours of work for them meant less profits for the bosses?

The demands of the bakers grew more insistent. A nine-hour day, \$1. a week more wages all along the line, better sanitary conditions, and recognition of the union.

Not more than six hundred of the bakers were members of the union, but the spirit of revolt spread from shop to shop. The mechanism of capitalist production had united the bakers. They had worked together, and suffered together. They made their demands together and on May Day, more than 2,000 group-conscious bakers, went out on strike together.

At once the shops of Jersey City and Hoboken were called upon to supply the customers of the struck New York shops. Rather than be used to supply the scab firms with bread, the Jersey bakers walked out. The Yonkers and Brooklyn bakers also joined the strike, and by the 2nd of May, the shops controlled by the

Bread Trust were so badly crippled that they were turning out no rolls and very little bread.

"Conditions in the big shops are much worse than we knew before the strike," said Organizer Iffland. The men have worked twelve and thirteen hours straight, and fifteen and sixteen on Saturday. Wages of the oven men in some of the largest places have been \$16. a week, kneaders \$13. and \$14., and helpers \$9. and \$10. a week. Some of the helpers, the men who fire the ovens, have been compelled to work sixteen and seventeen hours daily.

In many bakeries, no overtime was allowed. As one baker put it, "We had to pull a time-keeper when we went in, but never when we went out, and it was mostly twelve and thirteen hours straight." "Straight" means without time for lunch.

Before the formation of the Bread Trust, in some of the bakeries, the men only worked ten hours straight, and were paid for overtime. After the big boss bakers had organized their union, they

said to the bakers, "No more overtime. Hereafter you work as long as there is work to do."

Because of the extreme sharpness of the knives in the scaling machines, accidents are frequent in the bakeries. A moment off guard, a moment of weariness, means the loss of a finger or a hand. In one bake-shop, no less than seven fingers were sacrificed within two years. Since the beginning of the strike, several of the scabs have been injured. One poor unfortunate working in Schultz's bakery, lost his entire hand in the scaling machine, the machine that cuts the loaves of bread.

Toughs recruited from the slum districts of near-by cities have been brought under promise of big wages to break the strike. These scabs are not bakers, they are of the lowest order of men, they know nothing of cleanliness, and yet they are being used by the respectable master bakers to furnish the people with bread.

The scabs working in the bakeries are lodged and fed on the premises. As there are no conveniences for lodging



Comrade Allen Speaking at Strike Meeting.

men, conditions are unsanitary and indecent. In Fleischmann's "model" shop, men sleep in the room which contains the bags of flour. The Board of Health told the committee of bakers who went to make a complaint, that nothing could be done about it, and that they would not be used as a cat's paw to help the bakers win their strike.

When the stable men were ordered to make up the beds, they flatly refused, saying, "We are not here to make beds, especially for scabs." The proprietor of the famous Fleischmann bread-line hearing this, said, "It is not enough that the dogs of bakers outside are giving me trouble, but you dogs must make trouble for me also."

Some of the old men who have worked long years helping to build up the fortune of the charitable Fleischmann family, say they will never under any circumstances, go back to work for a man who after all those years of faithful service, would call them "dogs of bakers."

Many people ask why the drivers are not out, as the Bakery and Confectionery Workers are organized along industrial lines. The answer is easy. In addition to a respectable wage, they are given a commission on sales. Cushman's drivers are given stock in the shops as well. The drivers are petty bosses, they fancy they belong to the capitalist class, and of course they have nothing in common with the working class.

The union organizers asked the engineers to come out, but they could not do so without receiving orders from their officials. In this, as in other strikes, we have the shameful spectacle of union engineers furnishing power for scab labor. And they talk of the solidarity of labor. If there was any real solidarity of labor, it would not take long to settle a strike. Many of the union men wear scab clothes, scab hats, scab shoes, and they are now eating scab bread. In the division of the workers lies the weakness of the workers.

The strike of the bakers is marked by all of the incidents of other strikes. Hired Pinkerton thugs beat and club the pickets, and unlawful arrests are constantly made. In spite of all this, a fine spirit of solidarity is manifest among the strikers. They will never return to work without the recognition of the union.

Realizing the necessity of arousing the public, about the middle of May a group of women were organized for the purpose of carrying on a house to house campaign.

The wives of the bakers have done valiant work on the upper East side, persuading the delicatessen and grocery stores to carry union-made bread, and distributing literature among the people. Another group of Socialist and Trade Union League women have concentrated on the upper West side, and for weeks have gone from one apartment to another urging the women to buy only union label bread.

Thousands of leaflets bearing the caption "Are You Eating Unclean Bread?" have been distributed. Committees of bakers have followed up the work by flooding the districts with hundreds of thousands of their "Appeal to the Public."

More than 15,000 of a special strike edition of The Call were sold on May 21st by the bakers and their wives, a committee of women taking charge of the sale. Demonstrations have been held in Union Square by the bakers, and open-air meetings in the crowded thoroughfares by the women.

Women's auxiliaries have also been organized in the Bronx, in Jersey City, and in Brooklyn.

As a direct result of all this agitation, orders are pouring in for union-made bread. The small shops have settled, and with extra men, are scarcely able to meet the demand for bread bearing the union label.

The factories controlled by the Bread Trust are crippled. Many of them are turning out sour bread. Wagons return to the factories laden with scab-made bread which the people refuse to buy. The strike is costing the master bakers thousands of dollars a day. Sooner or later they must settle, but each one dreads to be the first.

The struggle is on between the masters of the bread, and the makers of the bread. To the public, this strike is a question of clean bread. To the bakers, it means a chance for life. The men who have stood long weary hours making our bread, are now fighting for prestige. They want to elevate the trade of bread making into a respectable clean trade. The enemy that they fight is the Bread Trust.

Working Men and Women

By

MARY E. MARCY



E are only working mules, my friend. All over the whole world we are toiling and sweating to make the wheels go round.

We build mansions and palaces and we live in garrets and basements.

We sow the fields and reap the harvests—for somebody else to enjoy. We feed the world; we clothe the world; we house the world—and if we are out of a job for one week—we are broke, we are hunting for another master—another boss again.

When we grow so weak and tired and desperate with struggling continually that we are impelled to throw down the whole burden of our lives and pull society about our ears, the Reformers, with loud voices appear.

These Reformers promise us many things. Sometimes they come beneath a Republican banner and again in the Democratic band-wagon. The flag of any movement or organization, dear to you and me, they will float in order to get us to join their ranks.

O yes, they promise many things. Some of these they do not intend to give us; and all they may grant will only render them more secure in their position upon our backs.

Do you remember our philanthropic friend, the New York millionaire, who bought up the land immediately adjoining a great factory and built model tenements for us? Do you remember the rents he charged us were only half as high as the rents we had been paying?

And you remember what happened then? The men who had been laid off offered to take our jobs at lower wages BECAUSE THEY KNEW THEY could LIVE ON LESS, since the RENTS had been reduced. And the boss told us if we refused to accept a reduction in wages, he would have to give our jobs to these men.

So the cheap rents did not help us at all. But they DID HELP the BOSS who was able to cut wages because the cost of living had been lowered.

That is the way reforms turn out. They look like something good for the workers but they always end by benefitting the capitalists.

Low rents, Cheap food, 3 cent car fares—all these the Reformers offer us. But when WE GET them, the COMPETITION for JOBS between the wage-workers themselves brings wages down low enough to take away all we think we have gained—and the BOSS GETS CHEAP MEN in the FACTORY.

Low rents and cheap living means that wages will go down; the price of wage slaves is lowered and the BOSS GETS THE BENEFIT.

There is only one thing that is starving, sweating and killing you and me. That thing is wage-slavery. Do not waste any time boosting reformers. Do not waste any energy making a fat job for the other fellow. Nothing can help you and me permanently as long as a few men own the factories, the mills and the mines.

We MAKE ALL the great and beautiful things in the world and the boss says

these things are His. He pays us only enough to feed ourselves, to get us a few cheap hand-me-downs and a shelter in some cheap lodging house.

But supposing we continued to MAKE all the useful and beautiful things we make now and KEPT THEM ourselves or received equal value for them! The only reason you and I work for the boss is because the BOSS owns the MILL. Suppose WE OWNED THE MILL—you and I and thousands of our fellow workers. Suppose we COLLECTIVELY owned the factories and the mines. You know we would never dig up all the things we made and the value we created to hand over to somebody who didn't work.

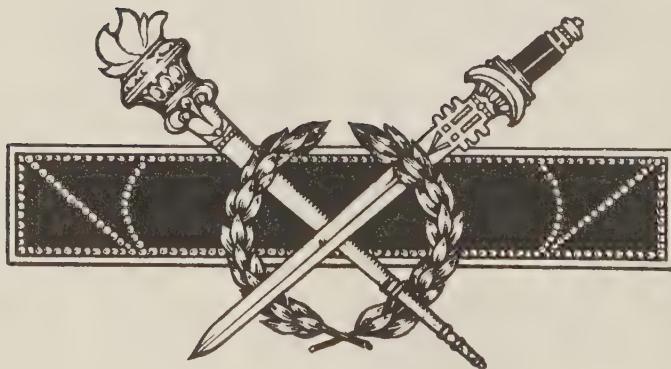
Socialism means the collective ownership BY the WORKERS of the MINES, the MILLS, the FACTORIES and the LAND, to be used FOR the benefit of the WORKERS.

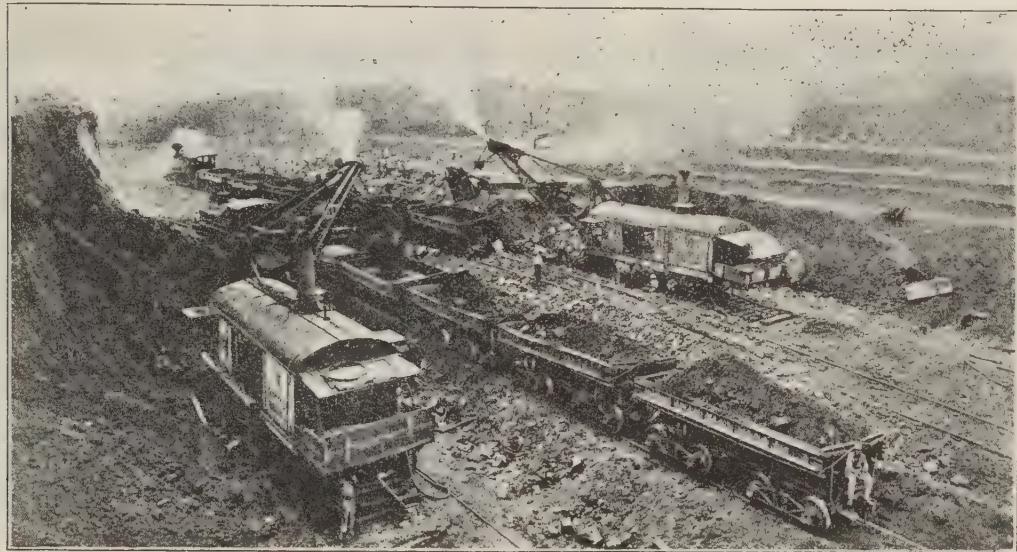
Think this over. Socialism means the value of the things made in the factory FOR the MEN who work in the factory. It means nothing left for the old boss unless he takes a job beside you and PRODUCES something.

Join the socialist party—the international organization of the working class for the abolition of capitalism. There are ten of us workers to one boss. If we unite, we can own the whole world. Division alone can defeat us.

Think it over. Study up on the subject. You CAN'T lose by becoming a socialist unless you are a capitalist—and the socialists propose to give the capitalists JOBS—so even HE will GAIN SOMETHING.

Unite with your fellow-workers into one great organization of the workers. Alone we can accomplish nothing; united the world is ours!





The Spillway Gatun, Showing Steam Shovels at Work.

The Isthmian Canal Today

By A COMRADE

WHO HAS BEEN ENGAGED IN THE WORK FOR NEARLY FOUR YEARS.



HE position occupied today by the mere handful of officers and employees working on the Panama Canal, once a "deadly and much dreaded territory" is most interesting.

The unequalled progress already made in the construction work of this gigantic undertaking is already transforming the lives of the natives of the Zone.

Everybody knows the Isthmian Canal is the greatest engineering feat of modern times, and the work is progressing with ginger, snap and zeal. The men employed on this great task are sturdy men, who are enduring hardships and sacrifices to give the world an open way, an open water-way around the globe. They are thus bringing the Orient thousands of miles nearer the Occident for our great ships, materially aiding foreign com-

merce. And it is commerce that has awakened the nations of the far East into a desire to adopt capitalistic methods of production. It is capitalistic production that produces a wage-working class of men and women. And it is these men and women who become the revolutionists that will one day arise to make the world a world of, for and by the workers themselves.

The Isthmian Canal will be a great civilizer of the Eastern nations, and it is Civilization (?) that produces socialists.

When I landed in Colon early in the fall of 1906, I was detailed to work at Gorgona, at that time a small town 29 miles in the interior—from Christobal on the Atlantic side. Here are located the main I. C. C. shops which employ 1,000 men. At this point the construction gangs work both ways, making Gorgona the third most important city on the Zone.

Out of 118, sixty were detailed to

that town. We were assigned headquarters in an old French building one story high. It was covered with a corrugated iron roof, so full of holes that we were able, through them, to count the stars, when they appeared some six weeks later.

For a full month after our arrival it rained every day—night and day. During all that time we wore wet clothes constantly. Sixty of us were packed into this building about 24 x 80 feet. The floor was almost as full of holes as the roof but we strewed pieces of boxes about over the holes to keep from falling through. Each of us was given a cot to sleep on, but we had no covering of any kind. We arranged the cots on either side of the house in rows, pulled off our shoes and for two months slept with our clothes on. I happened to possess a heavy pair of rubber boots, which I doubled up at night and used as a pillow. The other boys used coats or jumpers.

The quartermaster advised us that we should have better shelter as soon as we built more houses. Two smoky lanterns were given us at night in the hope of encouraging us a little, and every night we worked ourselves in edgewise to retire.

Unfortunately we did not occupy the house all by ourselves. A large rickety attic teetered over our heads in spots, inhabited by bats, centipedes and poisonous vermin. The songs and quarrels of the bats were weird enough to make the shivers run down our backs and our hair stand on end, if not too wet from the rain. And the crawlings of the other attic guests as they encountered our bodies on their journeys, was anything but pleasant for us.

During the first two months, as the rain dripped from our clothes we thought of the comfortable homes we had left in the states and discoursed upon patriotism in unmistakable and unprintable language. It is not surprising that three-fourths of the band turned homeward on the first pay-day.

At this time unrest and a lack of confidence was almost universal among the men. The locomotive engineers, firemen, trainmen, conductors, steam-shovel men, machinists, blacksmiths, boiler-makers, molders, marine workers and all others



A Native Hut.

had grievances. When the men sent committees to headquarters to ask for an adjustment, they were informed that we "must settle our differences with the heads of our departments." Generally the difficulty lay with some foreman who was trying to make a record for himself at the expense of the workers.

When J. F. Stevens, chief-engineer, retired from the Commission and sailed for the U. S. there was no organization of any kind among the men.

Then came the agitation to build the canal by contract. Naturally a very large majority of the employees opposed this method. The announcement that Oliver and Bongs had secured the contract added still further to the discontent and general disappointment. The skilled workers began to leave the Isthmus, or prepared to leave.

But the reports were not true and a cablegram from Washington stating that the work had been detailed to a Board of Engineers with Geo. W. Goethas, U. S. A. as Chairman and Chief Engineer. The workers began to hope their jobs might become possible after all. At any rate most of them stayed to give the new administration a chance.

The new Commission had its hands full. There were sanitary problems to be solved—vital to the lives of the whole working force, labor questions to be met,

the housing of great gangs of workmen, who meant to be well-housed, and a whole bundle of chaos to be straightened out.

Engineer Goethas and his assistants arrived upon the Zone unheralded and without pomp and they quietly assumed the management of the canal construction. At a banquet given a short time after his arrival, Mr. Goethas said to us working-men, "My office will always be open to hear of your difficulties." And his office HAS been open to us, and this explains the cause of the progress and success of the work under the new Commission.

The work of the new Sanitary Department in overcoming almost impossible conditions due to the climate cannot be too highly commended. At present we are all well housed, well fed and an effort is made to satisfactorily adjust working difficulties.

The new Commission under Col. Goet-

has is not a hard task-master. The incomes of the men in charge of the Isthmian Canal construction do not depend upon making slaves of us, and we are really one of the happiest bunches of workingmen in the world.

Here the government owns a steamship line, 400 miles of railroad, a cold storage plant, for the benefit of the employees, a bakery, laundry (the largest and most complete in the world), an ice plant, dairy, soap factory, barber-shops, musical instrument stores, theatres, water and electric light plants and scores of other institutions that lack of space will not permit me to describe here.

They have made it so pleasant to live on the Zone that most of us want to stay here. We feel as though we had temporarily escaped the driving lash of Capitalism and the Profit-System and are enjoying a fore-taste of what life will be for all the workers in the Wonderful Days A-Coming.



Native Banana Pickers.

A Letter from Debs

on

Immigration

EDITOR'S NOTE:—This letter was written to Comrade Brewer of Kansas while the Socialist Congress was in session. It would have been read to the Congress but for the fact that the writer's permission was received too late. Fortunately the committee's Majority Report was rejected. Comrade Debs' letter should be read by every socialist in the United States and we believe it will do much to prevent any such proposition from coming up again in any future convention.

My Dear Brewer:—

Have just read the majority report of the Committee on Immigration. It is utterly unsocialistic, reactionary and in truth outrageous, and I hope you will oppose with all your power. The plea that certain races are to be excluded because of tactical expediency would be entirely consistent in a bourgeois convention of self-seekers, but should have no place in a proletariat gathering under the auspices of an international movement that is calling on the oppressed and exploited workers of all the world to unite for their emancipation. . . .

Away with the "tactics" which require the exclusion of the oppressed and suffering slaves who seek these shores with the hope of bettering their wretched condition and are driven back under the cruel lash of expediency by those who call themselves Socialists in the name of a movement whose proud boast it is that it stands uncompromisingly for the oppressed and down-trodden of all the earth. These poor slaves have just as good a right to enter here as even the authors of this report who now seek to exclude them. The only difference is that the latter had the advantage of a little education and had not been so cruelly ground and oppressed, but in point of

principle there is no difference, the motive of all being precisely the same, and if the convention which meets in the name of Socialism should discriminate at all it should be in favor of the miserable races who have borne the heaviest burdens and are most nearly crushed to the earth.

Upon this vital proposition I would take my stand against the world and no specious argument of subtle and sophistical defenders of the civic federation unionism, who do not hesitate to sacrifice principle for numbers and jeopardise ultimate success for immediate gain, could move me to turn my back upon the oppressed, brutalized and despairing victims of the old world, who are lured to these shores by some faint glimmer of hope that here their crushing burdens may be lightened, and some star of promise rise in their darkened skies.

The alleged advantages that would come to the Socialist movement because of such heartless exclusion would all be swept away a thousand times by the sacrifice of a cardinal principle of the international socialist movement, for well might the good faith of such a movement be questioned by intelligent workers if it placed itself upon record as barring its doors against the very races most in need of relief, and extinguishing their hope,

and leaving them in dark despair at the very time their ears were first attuned to the international call and their hearts were beginning to throb responsive to the solidarity of the oppressed of all lands and all climes beneath the skies.

In this attitude there is nothing of maudlin sentimentality, but simply a rigid adherence to the fundamental principles of the International proletarian movement. If Socialism, international, revolutionary Socialism, does not stand staunchly, unflinchingly, and uncompromisingly for the working class and for the exploited and oppressed masses of all lands, then it stands for none and its claim is a false pretense and its profession a delusion and a snare.

Let those desert us who will because we refuse to shut the international door

in the faces of their own brethren; we will be none the weaker but all the stronger for their going, for they evidently have no clear conception of the international solidarity, are wholly lacking in the revolutionary spirit, and have no proper place in the Socialist movement while they entertain such aristocratic notions of their own assumed superiority.

Let us stand squarely on our revolutionary, working class principles and make our fight openly and uncompromisingly against all our enemies, adopting no cowardly tactics and holding out no false hopes, and our movement will then inspire the faith, arouse the spirit, and develop the fibre that will prevail against the world.

Yours without compromise,
Eugene V. Debs.

The British Labor Party

By

H. QUELCH



N the May number of the "International Socialist Review" appears an article under the above heading by Keir Hardie, which is my excuse for troubling you with this.

Here in England, as in other countries, we Social-Democrats have to fight out our own differences with our trimmers on the one hand and impossibilities on the other, and we cannot expect to interest our comrades of other countries greatly with our troubles. At the same time, it is well, on their own behalf, that our fellow Socialists in America should know the actual position of affairs in this country, and when we are confronted with such misrepresentations as appear in Hardie's article, which are

calculated to give an entirely erroneous impression of the situation here, it is necessary that an answer should be forthcoming.

Hardie begins by a reference to a statement by Comrade William E. Bohn, to the effect that "The Labor Party has sold its birthright for the mere chance of securing a mess of pottage." Personally I, too, should be inclined to demur to this statement of Comrade Bohn's. I do not think the Labor Party has sold its birthright. It has simply given it away! And that is not my opinion alone. Mr. Frank Rose, a member of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, who was himself a candidate of the Labor Party in the last general election, has said the same thing in a series of articles he has contributed to a Manchester paper, and has said it in

stronger and more damnable language than I have ever employed towards the Party of which Mr. Rose was for long a prominent member, and on whose behalf he was at one time a regular contributor to the columns of the "Labor Leader."

There was not only the implicit compact with the Liberals at the general election. For four years the Labor members of Parliament had been stumping the country in "independent" support of the Liberal Government and in praise of the Ministerial policy and its most reactionary legislative measures. Mr. Philip Snowden, Labor member for Blackburn, a professed Socialist and a member of the I. L. P., declared, in an article in the "Christian Commonwealth" that Mr. Asquith, the Liberal Prime Minister the man who was responsible for the massacre of miners at Featherstone in 1893, was "in earnest" in pursuit of reform, that he was the "most honest politician" and that he was worthy of the support of the Labor Party! Nearly every member of the Parliamentary group of the Labor Party extolled Lloyd George's Budget as a Socialistic piece of legislation, and were louder and more enthusiastic in its support than even some members of the Liberal cabinet.

The result of all this, even if there had been no compact, overt or implied, between the Labor Party and the Liberals at the election, was the bulk of the working-class electorate could see no difference between them, and no reason why they should vote for the Labor candidate in preference to the Liberal—seeing that the latter was so good—where the Liberals thought fit to oppose a Labor man.

As a consequence, not a single Labor candidate was elected who was opposed by the Liberals!

That is a fact that Keir Hardie omits to state. Indeed, his article is mainly concerned with the suppression of disagreeable facts. He says that in "nearly every case" their "new candidates were fighting three-cornered contests." That is perfectly true. But he omits to state that none of these—whether a new or an old candidate—was elected, and that, in several cases, prominent members of the Labor Party, candidates in the neighboring constituencies, issued an appeal to

the electors to vote for the Liberal and against the Labor candidate where such three-cornered contests were being fought.

Hardie says that he himself had a Liberal opponent. That is only true in the letter. Not in the spirit. The constituency for which Hardie is elected returns two members. Previous to Hardie's election in 1900 these were both Liberals. But one of them went "jingo" over the Boer war, and the Liberals withdrew their official support from him in 1900. The result of that election was the return of one "pro-Boer" Liberal and Keir Hardie; the jingo Liberal being defeated. In the last election, again, the official Liberal and Hardie were both elected. The Liberal, whom Hardie speaks of as being his "opponent" was the same jingo whom the Liberals rejected in 1900. He ran entirely "on his own" and had no official Liberal backing, so it was no wonder that he was defeated. Had this man received the same support as the other Liberal candidate there is little doubt that he would have been elected and Hardie defeated. The outstanding fact of the elections, so far as the Labor Party is concerned, is that every one of their men who is in the House of Commons is there by the goodwill of the Liberals.

It may be asked how it came about in these circumstances, that in many cases Liberals and Labor men were to be found opposing each other. The answer is simple. Such opposition was due, almost entirely, to the action of the local organizations, on one side or the other, or on both, which refused to be controlled by the expressed wish of their own leaders and forced a fight against that expressed wish.

Hardie's statement that there was any attempt at compromise with the Liberals on our part is absolutely untrue. Northampton, for which I stood, is a double barreled constituency, as is that represented by Hardie, by Snowden, by Macdonald, and several other members of the Labor Party. In each of these cases the Labor men share the representation with the Liberals. Northampton is, and was, represented by two Liberals. Over three years ago I was selected by our local branch as their candidate. When the crisis with the House of Lords came, the

Liberals, who had only selected one candidate for Northampton, appealed, there as elsewhere, for the unity of "all progressive forces" against the House of Lords. Our reply was that it was for them to show their sincerity in a practical fashion by not opposing my candidature. We asked for no assistance from them nor promised them any. We only pointed to the fact that I was in the field and that if they did not want to be fighting us they could easily refrain from doing so. That appeared to me to be a perfectly legitimate position to take up. That it did not present itself to the Liberals as any kind of compromise may be gathered from their action. They had openly and publicly professed their willingness to put up only one man—if only I were withdrawn and a man of whom they approved were put forward on our behalf!

Those are the facts. It will be seen, therefore, that, so far from being an attempt at a compromise, the contest at Northampton was a refusal to compromise. Had we done there the same as the Labor Party did elsewhere, bowed the knee to the Liberals; had I been withdrawn and a man whom the Liberals approved of been put forward, we should have won one of the two seats in precisely the same fashion as the Labor Party has won one of the two seats in each of the constituencies to which I have referred. But we refused to do anything of the kind. Better not to win seats than to hold them at the goodwill of our enemies. And so, instead of withdrawing from the contest or submitting our nominee to their approval we put up a second

man and fought for the two seats. Of course we were defeated. But better be defeated a thousand times than win a fictitious victory by previously surrendering to the enemy.

I have nothing to say to Hardie's apology for the Labor Party's support of the Budget. After the Budget had passed the House of Commons, and was the bone of contention between the Commons and the Lords, the Labor Party might have well supported it as against the latter. But to have given it their unqualified and enthusiastic support all through and to claim for it that it was a "Socialistic" Budget was to show how far removed are our Labor Party from the most elementary knowledge of the mere A B C of Socialist economics.

All that, however, can be readily understood when it is borne in mind that the Labor Party has no declared policy, no programme, and no principles, and that its policy in the House of Commons is determined by the Parliamentary Group, the forty members of the Party who have been elected to Parliament, twenty-six of whom are, avowedly, Liberals.

It is quite manifest that the policy and action of a Group so composed will be in support of the Liberals. The majority must rule, and if the fourteen professed Socialists in the group were as clear about their Socialism as they are often the reverse, and as persistently hostile to the Government as they are frequently friendly, they would still, being the minority, be outvoted every time in the interests of the Liberals.

The enemy who comes to us with open visor we face with a smile; to set our foot upon his neck is mere play for us. The stupidly brutal acts of violence of police politicians, the outrages of anti-socialist laws, the anti-revolution laws, penitentiary bills—these only arouse feelings of pitying contempt; the enemy, however, that reaches out the hand to us for a political alliance, and intrudes himself upon us as a friend and brother—**HIM AND HIM ALONE HAVE WE TO FEAR.**—Wilhelm Liebknecht in *No Compromise*.



Memorial Service Over Murdered Miners.

One Wyoming Mining Town

By

ANNA A. MALEY



ANNA, WYOMING is a coal mining town of 1300 population. The mines around which the town is centered are Nos. 1, 2, and 3 of the Union Pacific Coal Company.

Ten years ago the branch of the Union Pacific railroad upon which Hanna was located became the main line. Already in possession of the mines, the jobs upon which the whole male population of the town depended, the company promptly proceeded to get control of the homes of the miners as well. Ownership of the jobs was the club used by the company to enforce the sale of the property in the town. The Union Pacific Coal Company now owns every foot of ground and every home and business building within the town limits.

Six-room cottages rent for \$18.00 per month, so that a miner living in one of these cottages pays back to the company for rent about one week's wages. Four rooms rent for \$14.25 and three rooms for \$10.75. Close to the room in which I write nine persons live in a three room cottage.

The town has a water system but no adequate sewer. For the second time this season the drains are out of repair. All the buildings on the main street today have an accumulation of foul water in the cellars and the stench is so vile that the residents are using carbolic acid and other disinfectants to kill the smell. There is an epidemic of smallpox in the neighborhood.

Two of the company's men who came some time ago to inspect the drainage, pumped out the rotten water but did not

repair the drain because of the expense. It is time that the working class of Hanna should say with our friend in "The Servant in the House,"—"I'm the drain-man!"

Practically all of the miners here belong to the United Mine Workers of America including one hundred and twenty Japanese, who are furnished to the Union Pacific Coal Company by the Wakimoto-Nishimura Company, Japanese labor-contractors of Cheyenne. Their jobs cost these Japanese workers \$1.50 per month each, commission to the contractors, besides the slight bonus of five-sixths of the product of their labor paid to the Union Pacific Coal Company.

The Finnish miners are the backbone of the union here and also of the socialist movement. They have a local of two hundred and seventy-five, in which the women are as active as the men. Our Finnish locals are uniformly strong and efficient. While two conditions existing together are not necessarily mutually dependent, it is worthy of note that the strength and efficiency of our Finnish locals goes hand in hand with a large woman's membership.

Mine No. 1 has been abandoned. On June 30, 1903, one hundred and sixty-nine men perished in an explosion here. On March 28, 1908, fifty-nine men died in the

same mine, leaving thirty-eight widows and one hundred and four orphans. The total toll of life yielded up by the miners in Mine No. 1 is three hundred and seven-three. The explosions so damaged the properties, being of such force as to wreck completely the shafts and entrances, that the company hesitated about paying for the repairs so frequently necessary. And so the mine is closed.

The anniversaries of these fearful accidents have been declared holidays by the miners. A picture herewith shows four hundred workers assembled at Mine No. 1 for memorial services on March 28th of this year. Twenty-nine bodies are here still entombed. These men kissed their little ones on a March morning two years ago and went below to return no more forever to the world's song and sunlight.

"There's never a mine blown skyward now,
But we're buried alive for you.
There's never a wreck drifts shoreward now,
But we are its ghastly crew.

"Go reckon our dead by the forges red
And the factories where we spin,
If blood be the price of your cursed wealth,
Good God, we have paid it in!"

The devastation of the working-class by capitalist production is so shocking that only the most shameless and greedy capitalists dare to refuse a certain amount of statutory protection to labor. But for any important labor measure, the eight-hour law, for example, there will be found few supporters among the property-holding class.—From *The Class Struggle*
—Kautsky.



Weighing Yarn.

Mill Operatives of India

By

H. A. TALCHERKAR, B. A.

Secretary of the Indian Workman's Association now touring round the world studying the various labor organizations in different countries.



THE population of India is about 294,000,000. The total area of Hindustan is 1½ millions of square miles. India has been an agricultural country having nearly 90 per cent agrarian laborers. The mill-hands mainly come from the above class. Famines generally drive these men from their fields to cities where they work in mills or factories. It is inexorable necessity which alone brings them to factory towns.

The total number of workmen in Indian textile mills is 211,000, out of which the

city of Bombay alone has 148,000 mill-operatives. The majority of the mill-hands come from the Konkan districts. These men belong to different castes, each caste having affinity for a particular kind of work, and a member of one community will rarely be found engaged in any other craft but the one in which his caste is known to be a specialist. It is much the same, for instance, as with "the pit-brow lasses" of Lancashire and of some of the Scottish Counties who are employed in unloading, screening and sorting coal on the pit-banks whilst their male relatives are engaged deep down in the dangerous mine-pits. The affinity for par-

ticular professions and trades which are regarded as peculiarly their own is more or less an inherited trait among Indians. Thus the **Zulai** mill hands who are born weavers work only in the weaving department. The **Pardeshi** from Northern India has a liking for the carding department, the **Ghatis** from the highlands of Western India confine themselves to the lifting of heavy weights only. The Konkani **Maratha** from the sea coast is found in the mixing department. The women operatives generally work in the reeling and winding departments of the mills.

One comes across different types of workmen in mills. The following five are commonly to be seen in Indian cotton mills.

1. The model hand, who is steady, sober and regular in attendance. He is a family man to whom the smallest increase in wages is a great boon. This class always welcome over-time work.

2. The **Budliwala** or substitute who, as a rule, fights shy of fixed employment, and works only temporarily in lieu of others.

3. The **Athavada** or seven day man, so nicknamed from his habit of working only seven days at a stretch every alternate week and taking a week's respite from labor thereafter.

4. The **Mowali** the easy going masher, the Bohemian class, working and resting—a gay man generally given to vice.

5. The **Dada** or vagabond, the hooligan class, lazy like the mowali, but dangerous for obvious reasons.

Luckily the number of mowali's and dadas is very small in Indian mills.

The mill hand in India has to attend his mill at 5 a. m. in the morning and he is let off at 8 p. m. in the night. Thus the poor man has to sweat for 15 hours getting half an hour recess in the noon. He starts with his work without any food; at about 9 a. m. he begins to feel hungry and is restless at work and out of his element, till he has his breakfast. This is brought to him by his female relative in a decent brass box. These women are scrupulously careful that nobody touches them on the road and they usually avoid crowds. At railway crossings it is a funny sight to see these women dodging about to escape pollution from

the jostling crowd. It is a common sight to see the tea hawker (*férriwala*) moving about in different departments, selling the beverage to workmen at the rate of a cent per cup. In recent times the mill-operative class has taken to tea drinking inordinately; the large number of tea shops in the vicinity of mills testify to this craving.

The Indian mill-hand will not take easily to improvements and deviations from the antiquated and orthodox method of work and the mill-owner will therefore think twice before he ventures to introduce any up-to-date new machines to which the men are not accustomed. Their apathy in improving and keeping up with the times is probably in a great measure due to the Indian climate and their want of education. The following is a comparison between Indian and Lancashire labor, wages and production:

	Lancashire	India
Operatives per 1000 spindles.....	4.2	30
Operatives per 100 looms.....	4.4	90
	lbs.	lbs.
Average yearly out-turn of yarn per mill hand.....	7736	3700
	yds.	yds.
Average yearly out-turn of cloth per operative.....	37740	14000
Average weekly hours of work	55½	80
	Rs.*	Rs.
Average monthly wages per operative	81	13

The average of wages earned by mill-hands in cotton mills is as follows:

Adults.....	14	Rupees per month
Women	7½	" " "
Children	3	" " "

Factory Laws for India.

The first Factory Act was passed through the efforts of Rac Bahadur Lokhande the first president of the Mill-hands' Association, who from the position of an ordinary mill-hand rose to be a journalist and continued his fight for the working classes in the columns of the *Din Bandhu* (the poor man's brother) till he fell a victim to the plague.

The Factory Act restricted 10 hours work for females in mills and prevented the employment of children under 9 years. It also reduced the working hours of children between 9 and 14 years to four

* One Rupee is equal to 33 cents.

hours a day. Such juvenile workers were called "Half-timers." The poor mill-hand also got four holidays in a month under the new factory legislation. To this day the name of the late Mr. Lokhande is remembered with gratitude.

There have been some memorable strikes among the mill-hands in Bombay, the cottonopolis of India. The last strike of 1908 which took place in connection with the trial of Mr. Tilak, resulted in riots with the loss of 50 lives. The masses are evidently awakening, they have now a weekly paper, "*Kamgar Samachar*" in which all their grievances are freely discussed. Some have enthusiastically taken up temperance work among the mill-workers, notwithstanding the persecution to which they have to submit from the capitalist class who are both their land-lords and keepers of liquor shops or saloons. The combination among the mill-operatives is not strong, and in their own interest, it has been thought advisable to keep the organization secret. Those who work on the council of this association are retired workingmen of means, who are no longer dependent on the capitalist class for their bread. The Kamgar Hit-Vardhak Sabha—Indian Workman's Association—is under a strong committee of the following men:

Bhivaji Ramji Nare, President.

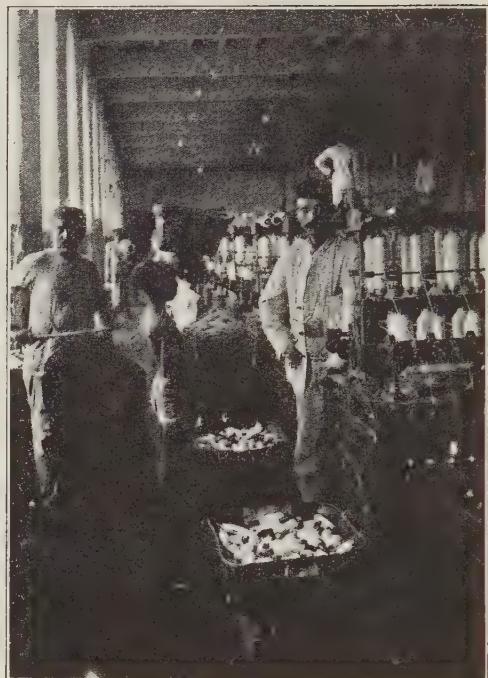
Najan Uddin Cheddan, Vice-President.

Secretaries: Silaram K. Bole, Mimshi Valiulla, H. A. Talcherkar.

A few months ago this association sent the following memorial to the government of India::

"On behalf of the Kamgar Hit-Vardhak Sabha of Bombay, an Institution for watching the interests of the Working Classes, we have the honor respectfully to submit the following representation in reference to the draft Bill for amending and consolidating the Indian Factory Law now before the Imperial Legislative Council. Though on account of the recent founding of the Association we have not had the privilege as other public bodies in Bombay have, of the draft Bill being sent to us for an expression of our opinion, yet we hope it will not be deemed presumptuous on our part thus to volunteer the Sabha's views on the same.

The Sabha, composed as it is mainly of Cotton Factory-operatives, is in a position, we submit, to give voice adequately to the wants and grievances of those for whose benefit the present legislation is being undertaken



Cotton Factory in India.

and we venture to hope that our representation will receive consideration at the hands of Government.

It is far from our intention to offer any criticism with regard to the proposed amendment of the Indian Factory Law. The Committee appointed to draft this letter have had the advantage of consulting many who are likely to be affected by the new Law and the opinion is strong about legally restricting the working hours in Textile Factories as expressed at a public Meeting held on 23rd October, 1909, at Currey Road, Bombay. A Resolution was then unanimously adopted: "That the restriction proposed in the Bill is necessary in the best interests of the operatives and thus in the long run of the textile industry itself."

With regard to the limitation of working hours we would humbly suggest an exception in the case of men engaged in repairs works, or in Mechanics' Shops.

Where Mills have in their service Medical Graduates it should be made obligatory on the Certifying Surgeons to authorise the former to grant workmen temporary certificates of medical fitness. These doctors should be allowed full discretion in issuing these certificates according to the nature of work exacted from the operatives, care being taken to discriminate hard manual labour from light work requiring no great physical exertion.

We avail ourselves of this opportunity to draw the attention of Government to the necessity of providing for some compensation to workmen if they sustain any injury whilst on duty in the Mill, or become disabled either

permanently or temporarily. At present it often happens that in such cases the operatives are left without any remedy against their employers or in some cases have to depend entirely on their employer's mercy. In cases of accident enquiries are as a rule instituted and it would not, we submit, be difficult to fix the amount of Compassionate Allowance at such enquiries. It may be urged that a remedy lies to hand by a civil suit; but regard being had to the poverty and general ignorance of the working classes this course can seldom if ever be followed. We beg to submit that the grant of an occasional allowance will not bear hard on the Millowners, as each Mill, we are given to understand, forfeits annually about Rs. 2,000 out of the wages of work people, mostly for trifling faults, irrespective of "fines" regularly inflicted.

We further venture to suggest for the consideration of Government the necessity of making it imperative upon Mill-owners to provide schools for the children of Mill-operatives. This step, in the absence of free education by State interference, cannot fail to have salutary effect on Millhands in whose interests Government have so generously come forward to legislate.

The proper housing of Mill-operatives and the removal of taverns from the neighbourhood of mills and factories are, we submit,

also points which should not escape attention of Government.

This is perhaps not the place to urge for the redress of grievances; but we respectfully venture to hope that the above questions will some time in future be taken up by legislature; the grievances are real and felt and this is our excuse for mentioning them here.

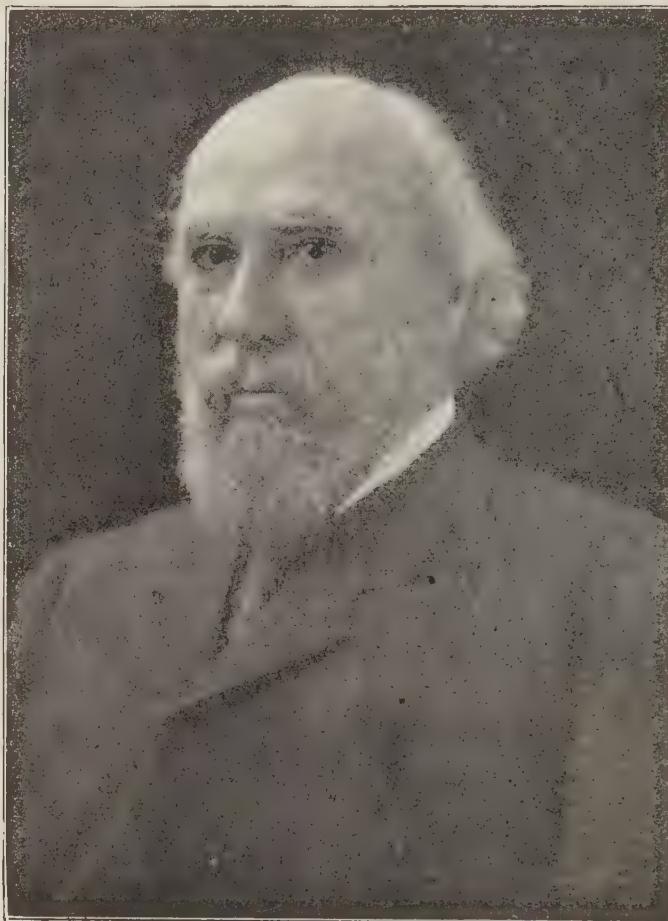
At the Public Meeting of Mill-operatives referred to above the objectionable practice of keeping wages of workmen in arrears for weeks, if not months, after they become due was condemned. This question too is perhaps beyond the scope of the Bill now before the Council; but we deem it proper respectfully to bring the fact to the notice of Government to show the general helplessness of the Mill-operatives.

In submitting these suggestions we most respectfully ask that the Government may be pleased to consider them in a broad and sympathetic spirit."

Through the intervention of this association many a dispute between the employer and the employed has been successfully settled, which evidently shows the good work which the body is doing.



H. A. Talcherkar.



James J. Hill—The Railroad Magnate.

"Jim" Hill's Advice

By

ROBERT J. WHEELER — CLARENCE T. WIXSOM



IM HILL says: THE AMERICAN PEOPLE MUST LEARN TO LIVE CHEAPER LIKE THE EUROPEAN PEASANTS. This is Jim's remedy for the "High Cost of Living."

Live cheaper. Think of it. Poorer

food than you eat now; poorer clothes than you wear now; poorer houses than you live in now; fewer pleasures than you now enjoy; less expenditure for sickness than now; less provision against old age than you make now; this is what Jim means by living cheaper.

And why? Now really you must not ask questions. You must "trust and

obey." Don't you know that Jim and "Divine Right Baer" of Pennsylvania have been given control of all these things by Providence? But if you insist on an answer it might be said that the Nation has reached a point beyond which it cannot progress with safety and continue to make useless people rich and at the same time pay living wages to useful working people. The Capitalists are determined to keep on piling up riches. So they tell you that you must live cheaper.

They hire preachers, editors, college professors, lecturers, and magazine writers to teach this to you. These hirelings tell you to be less extravagant. They say you waste too much in high living and drinking and pleasure seeking. If they can prove these things on you, they will hold the Capitalist justified in refusing you an advance in wages and look on in approval when he sends cossacks to beat you up when you strike.

But here are the facts: In 1904 Carroll D. Wright, the Labor Commissioner, told the country that your average yearly wage was \$437. This was during prosperous times. It is less now because the price of food and clothes has gone up 20% since. Now you \$437 a year man, how are you going to do it? How are you going to live cheaper when even cornmeal is \$3.00 a bag? What's that? You won't do it? You will fight first? "Praises be," as Dooley says. That's the talk. There's some hope for a man who will fight before he will consent to become a serf.

Now then, since you are going to fight, you will want the best weapons. Let's see, do you belong to a union? No? Well! Well! That's too bad. The right kind of a union is the very best kind of a weapon in a fight like this. You can't put up much of a fight if you do not belong to a union. There are two kinds of unions, craft or trade unions and industrial unions. The trade union was the best weapon the workers had at one time. This was before industry had reached the machine stage and the employers had organized. The trade union took in only the skilled men in the different branches of the industry and was a good thing for those who belonged to it. But since the employers have organized into One Big Union to enable them to fight the men

better, and industry has become trustified and such a large proportion of skilled men have been reduced to mere machine tenders, the craft union is out of date. It is like the old tool you lay aside when a new one is given you; or like the old style muzzle-loading gun was put by when the repeating rifle was invented. And more than that, the craft union divides working men up into many organizations instead of uniting them. This makes it easy for the employer to use one against the other in a fight and so defeat all. Then too the different craft unions spend more time and money fighting each other than in fighting the employers.

But the Industrial Union; the real Labor Union; the One Big Union of all the workers in any industry is a new and powerful weapon. This union can meet the employers with some hope of success. It is the best form of organization ever devised to aid the workers in their battle for freedom from wage slavery. The Industrial Union has no divisions. It takes every man in any industry into its ranks and makes a fighter of him. No matter whether he be American or foreigner, white or black, the Industrial Union takes him in and teaches him the lesson of union. How to help himself by sticking with his fellow worker. So join a union. Join the best union. Join the Industrial Union.

Then there is another weapon you have. The political party. You can fight as it were with both hands. To use a political party in this fight you must belong to one of your own class. There is such a party. The Socialist Party is its name. It is owned by the Unions. It is controlled by the workers. They pay all its expenses. It is growing to be a power. It has just captured the city of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. It will capture the state some day. It aims to capture the nation. You must join this party. You need it in this fight. With your own party a power in government it will not be possible to send Cossacks to beat you up while you are striking to force your wages up and your hours down. Then also courts will fear to decide unjustly against your leaders and police will be used to protect you instead of helping your employer break strikes.

So now you see it is possible for you to help yourself and prevent the Capitalists from forcing you to live like the European peasants, even though prices rise. Now don't waste any time. Get busy at once. Join a union. Join the Socialist Party. Work with the union on the industrial field to force your wages up and with the Socialist Party on the political field to control government and protect the unions in the fight. Let us swell the membership of the unions to millions. Let us swell the membership of the Socialist Party to millions. Just in

proportion as we do this will our conditions improve.

Finally, let us resolve that our efforts shall not cease until through the Industrial Union we have gained possession of industry and through the Socialist Party we have gained possession of government. Then shall this old, wornout, capitalist system with all its horror and suffering to the workers pass away and in its place will be a system under which they who do the work of the world shall receive full reward for their labor.

Let this be your answer to Jim Hill.

Let it not be supposed, however, that the record of Hill's cumulative acts, as revealed in successive law and other records, has interfered in the slightest with his exalted reputation. Far and wide his sycophants of the press do still loudly spread their fanciful, rapturous descriptions of him, always carefully leaving unsaid the true means by which he obtained his great wealth. Much has been made of his piety; his giving, for instance, \$500,000 for the endowment of a Roman Catholic Cathedral, at St. Paul; much is incessantly written of his exceeding probity, his "financial acumen" and "business virtues." When he speaks he is hailed as averitable oracle, and truly so, for the gods of present society are the Money Gods; Society, which at huge expense has built jails and prisons for the petty criminal, erects palaces for the great criminals, and insists upon pouring wealth increasingly into their coffers and hails them dictators. And who can blame the magnates for thus mocking and scourging the peoples who thus reverence them and the system which produces and perpetuates them? For, not they, but the system, should be held responsible.—From Myers' History of Great American Fortunes.

The Russian Woman and the Suffragette

BY

ROSE STRUNSKY



O knock off the hat of a policeman and throw vitriol at the polls is only to make manifest a desire and an intention to become a free woman. Due credit should be given to the desire and the intention, but somehow the action is lacking both in philosophy and practicality, and is on the whole metaphysical.

It is metaphysical to expect to fire a whole nation with the theory of civic justice, with the theory alone that woman has a fundamental right to the privileges which man enjoys under the present society. It is metaphysical to make that statement without making a pragmatic analysis, without endeavoring to imagine what would be the practical value to the women of the nation as a whole if they were given the same privileges as are extended to the men.

In England, where the right to vote is only given to him who owns, leases or rents the dwelling he lives in, to take away the sex distinction would only grant the suffrage to a million women who lease, own or rent buildings. Almost eight million women would still be disenfranchised, while three million men are disenfranchised today in England on account of their occupations, which do not permit them a steady abode.

I repeat, the philosophical basis of the rights of man is too abstract a theory to fire eight million women, which gives them nothing but the consciousness of being idealists. It is not philosophical; it is not practical. A philosophical understanding of the question is the Russian understanding of it, where, having accepted the theory of the rights of man, the women have developed it to its

natural conclusion, which is a practical conclusion. If it is granted that Man, male and female, have certain rights, then comes the question, what is the practical application of these rights in society, and what would be the best way of attaining them? I think the English suffragette would agree with the Russian woman that she desires a vote with the end in view of changing and bettering the social and political conditions about her. She thinks she will be a factor in the government of which she is a part. The Russian woman not only thinks she will be a factor in the government of which she is a part, but on the day when she awoke to the realization that she, as an individual, had certain rights, she immediately grasped these rights, calling herself free, and began to apply them to society. She did not implore or beg the men to grant her anything, or even aid her, as the suffragette is doing, though to the credit of the Russian man, it must be said he never opposed her. The reason for that was perhaps, as some one said, that they were already equals in slavery.

At any rate, from her first awakening in the '60's, when all Russia was swept by Darwinism and the scientific spirit, till today, when Russia is swept by a revolutionary fire, the Russian woman has acted with self-reliance, and what is more important still, with a social and political consciousness which leaves no basis for any one to say that she is unfit to take part in politics. She did not wait for permission, but began her work.

If it was education she wanted, as she did at the beginning, then she broke the bonds which held her to her family and went where she could find education. Here, at the beginning, is the only place

where the men helped her. A father could imprison his daughter, could beat her and cut off her hair if she did not obey his will. It was only when she married that she became free. The youth of Russia instituted a system of fictitious marriages, which gave the girl freedom to leave her home. In most cases the "husband" never saw her again after she was safely installed in her garret in Zurich, with a *Materia Medica* on the table and a lamp, which not only gave light but acted as a stove for the rare occasions she had anything to cook. In this way Sonya Kovalevsky, the famous author and mathematician, gained her education; and the story of Sonya Kovalevsky is the story of many thousands between the years '60 and '70.

But the Russian woman was free.

This passion to be free for herself lasted only a few years. It meant nothing as an end in itself. Freedom had to be given to all of society, to all the oppressed around her. This idea was true of the men as well as the women, and when Alexander II, fearing that the whole Russian youth would make this exodus to the West, sent out his decree, ordering them to return within the year or forfeit their citizenship, the women went back with the men, and it was due to them as well as to the men that the democratic doctrines of Western Europe spread to the farthest provinces of Russia. She worked with the men without permission. In her very conception of freedom it belonged to no man to give, but for all to take. Freedom was not for herself, but for all. She made this leap from feminism to humanism with one bound. She was organizer among the peasants, propagandist, agitator in the factories and the barracks; she addressed meetings, headed demonstrations and was most often, as in the case of Perofskaia, who was hanged for the assassination of Alexander II, the leader and head of terroristic acts.

We could find no Russian who would say that their women are unfit for politics. It would be laughable. In a contemporary article in a Russian periodical, the other day, on suffragettes, the writer begins: "I am not going to prove that two plus two equals four. I am not go-

ing to prove that women have equal rights with men. There is no need for that in Russia."

The Russian woman is by common consent the most emancipated in the world, and it is by her own worth and because she has proved herself that the Russian woman has won this emancipation. The practical effect of such an attitude is patent. Even Russia, that reactionary and despotic government, which Mr. Schiff called the other day "an enemy to all mankind," has granted better rights to women than so-called more democratic countries. Whatever rights this autocracy has granted to its men subjects as to property, she has given to the women. This is true in the marriage relation and in communal ownership. A proprietress has as much right in the *zemstvos* meetings as a proprietor; a woman peasant, if she represents land, as much right in the communal meeting as a man peasant.

Russia is chary of giving education to the boys, and more chary of giving it to the girls. That is a governmental policy which was expressed by the late Pobiedonostzeff more than thirty years ago: "The masses should be kept in ignorance as a safeguard against revolution. Ignorance leads to obedience." But in higher education the women have since '69 won for themselves the right to attend philosophical and mathematical courses in the university together with the men. Also there were established, as a bait for them to return from Zurich, two good universities in Petersburg and Moscow. Within the last five years they were permitted to take degrees not only in letters, but also in medicine. Law had been open to them, but the privilege of obtaining a degree revoked only a few months ago.

Yet all this was not won because the women as a whole joined together and fought for their own feminine rights, but because the women joined with the men or initiated movements which demanded educational, political and social rights.

It was not the emancipation of women alone that made Katherine Breshkovsky, the grandmother of the Revolution as she is called, and who has just recently been sentenced to perpetual exile in Siberia, spend half a century in the cause for freedom. It was because she saw that the Russian government as it is

today would not give liberty to its subjects even if there were no sex differentiation.

It was not the emancipation of women alone that fired Marie Spiridinova to shoot the Governor-General of Tambov on a crowded railway station. She did it because it was under his orders that punitive expeditions were sent through the whole government of Tambov to beat and flog the peasants—men and women alike.

It was not the emancipation of women alone that led Konopliamkova to shoot Captain Minn after he had entered the city of Moscow with the order to "pacify" it, but because he had entered the city with his regiment and had ordered them to shoot every man, woman or child they saw from their car windows. Her last words were: "Forgive me, my country, that I have but one life to give you."

These are names which have reached the outer world. There are as many women as men, or perhaps even more, in this movement for the emancipation of Russia. Certainly more women than men are doing the more dangerous work of smuggling illegal literature or dynamite, for the very simple and practical reason that under their skirts and capes they can carry greater quantities. There are more women than men making an agitation among the soldiers, also for a simple and practical reason. Women can disguise themselves and enter the barracks with more excuse than can the men.

But these women are idealists, comes the answer, working in a despotic and tyrannical country where their only hope for emancipation lies in revolution. Here in the West we can effect all by the vote. Therefore we demand only that.

Very well. But can we imagine the Russian women waiting for permission to vote before they expressed themselves on the many questions which agitate our own country and politics? There would be a tariff revision agitation and demonstration; there would be pro-Tammany women and anti-Tammany women; there would be Hearstites, Gaynorites, etc. They would never be feminists per se as the Western woman; they would never be Liberals one day because of a feminist promise, and Unionists the next day to

defeat the same Liberal government as in England.

The American suffrage movement has not suffered from this metaphysical "ding an sich" agitation as much as the English. We are too practical here. Suffragism has taken up the fight for unionism, a very wise and strategical move. The whole East Side in the City of New York, is punctured with wage-earning girls' suffrage clubs. The strength and significance of this is plain.

The writer has had occasion to experience three women suffrage demonstrations in London almost two years ago. "Yes, of course," they whispered under their breath, "we believe in adult suffrage. We are radicals. You know, Mrs. Pankhurst and Christabel are members of the Independent Labor party, but it is not tactful to mention these things now. First we want the vote."

You won't get it, I thought to myself. Asquith's answer to them was right: "When all women of the country will want it," he said, "you will have the vote." All the women of the country are not interested in suffering for crumbs, which would not even fall to them. If the mountain brings forth a mouse, the joke is on the mountain.

There are also a vast number of women in Russia who are not idealists, but are nevertheless emancipated. They are either satisfied with conditions as they exist, or anxious to have some slight reform. But their emancipation lies in the fact that they consider themselves a potent factor in society. Thus the Countess Bobrinsky, who was opposed to revolutionary methods, yet planned to organize the peasantry to make some better agrarian laws. She was the main agitator and supporter of the Peasants' Union before it became the very radical body it turned out to be at the first Duma.

Today Bourtseff, in discovering spies, has disclosed as many women as men, and these women have acted from as keen a social sense as the revolutionary women. Zinaida Jouchenko, who had been a spy and provocateur for years, and had sent the revolutionary, Mlle. Frumkin, to the gallows, explained that she was a spy from as deep a sense of patriotism as Mlle.

Frumkin said her terroristic act was from a deep sense of liberty and justice.

And so, at the time of the general strike and the revolutionary period of three years ago, when the country was broken up into many political parties, each political party had on its program universal suffrage. There was no question in the mind of any man, conservative, liberal, radical or revolutionary, that universal suffrage should mean the vote for men and not women. And this was not because the women had been crying from the street-corners and shouting through megaphones that they had equal rights, but because for three generations they had thrown themselves into the political arena of their country; they had organized, made propaganda, agitated and fought.

How quickly the women of Russia would get the vote if the present Russian government were overthrown, is shown by Finland. That little country has been awake only ten years. It was only a de-

cade that the great revolutionary movement of Russia rolled into Finland, and in those ten years the tactics of the Finnish women were those of the Russian. They went out with the men, shoulder to shoulder, and like the Christians, found themselves by first losing themselves. When Finland gained the right for a new Constitution, all elements of the country, with one accord, gave the passive and active suffrage right to women, and twenty-five women sat in the last Diet.

The Russian woman knows that the rights of women are not different from the rights of men; that the right of the landlady is different from the right of the peasant woman as the right of the landlord is different from the right of the peasant. And it is for the establishment of a new democratic order that the Russian woman is fighting. In the words of Stepnak, having once conceived of liberty for herself, she cannot rest until she gives liberty to all. She does not stop to fight for crumbs. If they fall to her, she accepts them and fights on.

The Strike of the Seamen at Marseilles, France

BY

GIOVANNI B. CIVALE



ERE in Marseilles, where I am now, the city is practically besieged with gendarmes, hussars, dragoons, etc. on horse-back and on foot, and all armed to the teeth. They were called here by the Prefect to be used as soldiers and as workers, when the strike of the Seamen Under Contract broke out.

This strike is a fierce struggle between two classes conscious of their class distinctions. If it should be won by the masters, the whole C. G. E. in this city would be gone. But the sailors are made of stern stuff and the whole working class is composed of fighters.

M. Cheron, the vice-secretary of State, acted for the Ship-owners Assn. of France. His first order was the arrest of eight sailors of the S. S. Moise, simply for striking on the moment the ship was to sail (another illustration of the vaunted "right to work, or not to work.") Then he called a number of torpedo boats to this port from which sailors supposed to serve only for the National Defense, were ordered to manoeuvre the steamers, thus filling the places of the striking sailors.

This roused the working class of the whole city. A General Strike Committee was named and in a few hours the walls everywhere were placarded with Manifestos exposing the facts.

Sunday morning, May 11th, the General

GIOVANNI B. CIVALE

Strike was declared and when the shop whistles blew the next day, it was easy to count the factories that tried to run.

Tuesday morning no cars were running and the list of trades involved in the strike grew from 34 to 44. The head manager of La Campagne des Tramways, in an interview said,

"I am simply astonished and unable to understand how the whole personnel can pursue such action. As you see," he added to the reporter, "It is simply an act of SOLIDARITY."

The most inspiring sight is the Bourse de Travail (Labor's Hall) which floats the red flag above its main entrance, bearing Marx's old, great call, "Workingmen of the World Unite!"

A large blackboard above the door records the progress and some of the plans of the movement. Every room inside is packed and it is impossible for people to pass through the streets outside.

The excitement grew when word came that the sailors had refused to leave the torpedo-boats to act as scabs. When the soldier begins to fraternize with the workingman, it is an ominous sign.

It is 3:00 o'clock in the afternoon, when the motormen, and the street car conductors march down the streets, bearing two red flags, and singing the International. They are followed by the match-makers and the tobacco-workers—all women.

There has been no disturbance till the strikers see a wagon approaching (one of the only four or five the company has tried to run.) Their first idea is to force it back, at any cost. The Chief of Police, gendarmes and soldiers persist. Then sticks, stones—every sort of a missile is seen flying toward the car, smashing the panes and breaking the trolley.

There are a few injured on both sides and the incident is repeated when two more cars appear.

The city seems to be returning to a more normal state, but the strike of the seamen is far from ended. In fact, it is spreading to other seaports, Bordeaux, Dunquerque and Havre. The militia is still here.

Things point to a victory for labor. Whatever may be the outcome, the strike has taught the workers a most valuable lesson of solidarity. It is the first time here that the two great forces have been lined up against each other; the Ship Owners Assn. and the allied Shipping Federations on one side and the sailors on the other with the rest of the C. G. E. to rely upon.

If there was any simpleton who did not know that the Government was but the "Committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie" he certainly knows now. The whole government is in the hands of King Capital—no matter what the label. Violence and corruption is always there to defend "law and order."

Even the Prefect, to prove his faithfulness to the masters, kept locked in his desk for 24 hours, a telegram to l'Humanite. But the working class solidarity is baffling the schemes of the bosses and their tool—the State.

Until recently the strike represented only a sharp feeling of hunger—of need, the desperation that comes from brutalizing work, of the unloosed anger of brutalized masses.

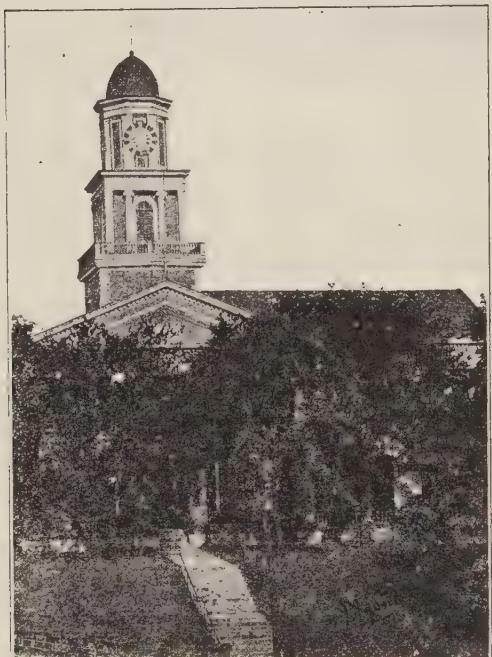
But now it is different and the strike begins to represent the fixed rhythm of proletarian class-consciousness.

The prevailing lack of unity implies the lack of class consciousness. The workers do not yet understand that they are engaged in a class struggle, that they must unite their class and get on the right side of that struggle economically, politically and in every other way—strike together, vote together and, if necessary, fight together. Eugene V. Debs in Industrial Unionism.

The Free Press Fight at New Castle, Pa.

By

FRED D. WARREN



Lawrence County Court House
Local Law Factory of the U. S. Steel Trust.



THE case against the comrades comprising the committee engaged in the publication of the New Castle Free Press, charged with "seditious libel," was tried under what was known as the old English common law. This law against "seditious libel" was framed at a time when kings ruled by divine right,

and in order to establish the guilt of the "pestiferous" McKeever, Hartman, McCarty and White, the prosecutor of Lawrence County, Pennsylvania, cited a case that occurred during the reign of Charles II. A score of Irish peasants raised a rebellion, so the prosecutor read, against the English land lords. These Irish peasants were arrested, charged with "seditious libel" and sentenced to prison. That was nearly four hundred years ago, yet we find a fossilized county prosecutor referring to it today in an effort to convict these four comrades of ours. It would be laughable were it not for the serious consequences that are likely to follow this New Castle trial for "seditious libel."

After a six days fight, in which each point was vigorously contested, Judge Porter, the presiding magistrate, elected on the democratic-populist ticket by the working class of New Castle, charged the jury, in a lengthy communication in which he explained, in a ponderous and patronizing way, that while the constitution of Pennsylvania guarantees the right of free press, the state must, if it was to be preserved, reserve the right to protect itself against "seditious and pestiferous persons, who sought by means of the press to bring the reins of government into contempt and ridicule." So nicely balanced were the scales of justice, under these instructions, that it required only a breath from the steel trust attorney, who was in constant attendance at the trial, to turn the balance in favor of the prosecution.



"His Honor"—Judge Porter.

After twelve hours deliberation, the jury returned for instructions as to where the cost of the prosecution should be placed. Under the laws of Pennsylvania, the jury may place the cost on the defendant, even though the defendant be found not guilty, or it may place the cost on the county or on the prosecutor. The jury again retired and in a few minutes returned. With a solemnity that fitted the occasion, Judge Porter opened the envelope in which the jury's verdict had been placed and silently read it. Hesitatingly picking up his pen, he started to attach his official signature to the document that would have set our comrades free. There was a moment's silence disturbed only by the ticking of the court room clock. The judge closed his eyes. It could readily be discerned that the judicial think box was at work. He opened his mouth as if to speak. The spectators leaned forward expectantly. The judge cleared his throat, readjusted his wig and then said: "Gentlemen of the jury, you have brought in a faulty verdict. You cannot place part of the cost on the other prosecutor and the balance on the other

parties. You will retire and bring in a verdict in accordance with my instructions."

For the third time the jury retired. After an hour's deliberation, the twelve men returned to the court room and announced that they were unable to agree! The jury was thereupon discharged and the case now stands just where it started; as though it had not been tried!

If the verdict had been "guilty," there would have been no question of costs, as the verdict of guilty carries with it the expense of prosecution. This fact is taken as conclusive evidence that the twelve men had decided that our comrades were not guilty of "seditious libel," but they had in the minds of two members of the jury "acted badly" and should therefore pay a part of the costs. When I left New Castle Sunday night, it was the talk on the street that the twelve men voted "not guilty" on the charge of "seditious libel" and that it was divided 10 to 2 on the question of costs.

And so this case—fraught with so much concern to the working class of this nation,—must be fought all over again at an expense of thousands of dollars. Trust magnates of Pennsylvania hope by this means to break the spirit of our New Castle comrades but, if I am any judge of men, I am quite sure that it will have the effect of increasing their enthusiasm and determination.

While the jury was deliberating and the judge and his friends scheming to overthrow the right of free press, there was something of importance transpiring in another quarter of the trust-ridden town.

From the surrounding cities came Socialists and their friends by the thousand. Every incoming railroad train was crowded. A special of nine coaches was required to bring the delegation from Pittsburgh. The inter-urban service was taxed to its utmost capacity by the Socialists from nearby cities. The visitors were met by the local committee on arrangements and the line of march was through the principal streets to County Headquarters, located in the very heart of the city. It was an inspiring revolutionary spectacle and one that New Castle will



Comrade Warren Speaking in the Apple Orchard.

not soon forget. Comrade John W. Slayton, nominated for Governor the day before, was called for and from the window overlooking the street spoke for a few minutes. When Slayton's tall form and kindly features appeared there arose a lusty cheer that resounded from hill to hill and caused smug New Castle to pause and inquire into the cause of this sudden outburst of enthusiasm.

In the afternoon, in Cascade Park, fully 15,000 persons had gathered to hear the speakers. The mounted police were on hand promptly and refused to allow the speaking to take place as arranged. The park was a private one, it was explained, owned by the street car company. Comrade Ries, of Ohio, who is always on the job, rented an apple orchard a few hundred yards distant from the park entrance. Perhaps one-third of the immense throng, (it being impossible in the confusion to get word to all) marched to the new location where the program was continued. The mounted police were

on hand, but our rent receipt for the use of the orchard, forced them to respect our "property rights." The meeting had dispersed before the blue laws of Pennsylvania against a Sunday political meeting, could be invoked.

An interesting sequel to the day's proceedings was the march to New Castle, two miles distant. The procession, with flying banners and fluttering red badges, reached almost from the park entrance to the center of the city. New Castle's residents, enjoying the afternoon's quiet, saw a body of men and women ten times as large as the army that followed the flag of revolution at Bunker Hill.

The following little incident will illustrate New Castle sentiment: Two neatly dressed boys—perhaps eight and ten years of age—stopped me on the street. One of them asked, "Who won?" I replied that I had not yet heard the jury's verdict. "Well," as he turned away, "I hope the Socialists will win". And that is the New Castle sentiment!



May Day in Portland, Oregon

By

TOM J. LEWIS



NCE more has the day of International Solidarity made its cycle, and the hosts of labor demonstrated. Here in Portland we had been preparing to celebrate for several weeks and May Day was given a right royal welcome. Slowly, but surely, the wage-slaves gathered at 309 Davis St. until 1:30 P. M., when the band appeared on the scene. All the comrades wore red ribbons and bore red banners and the air was rent with cheers as the strains of the old Marseillaise reached our ears. Then the call to fall in line was given, and, as if by magic, 1,500 fellow-

workers began to sing. The command to "Forward-March" was given and a historic parade of wage-slaves was wending its way down the streets—historic because composed of proletarians and its lack of the conservatives who ask "a Fair Day's Work for a Fair Day's Pay." The Civic Federation groups were noticeable by their absence. Believers in the Gompers-Mitchell dope had gone to church, no doubt, to get some more peace-on-earth-good-will-to-men from the sky pilots and think about "that identity of interests between employer and employed." But we marched and the women wheeling baby carriages in the parade, looked very in-



Portland Reds Enjoying Themselves.

spiring. And we did not fail to ask the boys on the curb if they were afraid to join us, either.

We marched without police protection or police interference to some newly purchased land to be used for a school house, which, by the time Chairman Ben Whitman had opened the meeting, was filled with over 4,000 people. There in the bourgeois district, led by Comrade Mildred Lewis, we sang the Red Flag and the Marsellaise. We held forth for three hours; good speaking and good will abounded, and in the evening we sang, lunched and danced in the Finnish Hall

until midnight. And so passed off one of the greatest May Day celebrations in the history of Portland. It did wonders toward removing prejudices against socialism and made new friends for the movement. Even the capitalist papers declared the celebration was a great success. It exceeded our expectations and the comrades of Local Portland are proud of it. Things are doing. The workers are waking from a long sleep. A few more May days, a little more intelligence, one good organization for the final effort—political and economic, and the chains will fall and we will be free!



Then Raise the Scarlet Standard high!

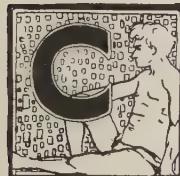
Tweedle Dee and Tweedle Dum

or

The Agenda of the International Socialist Congress

By

FRANK BOHN



Comrade George Herron, in his striking article on Theodore Roosevelt, stated that there is not a Socialist Movement in the world which is "profoundly revolutionary, resolutely reaching to the roots of things, refusing any longer to tinker or compromise with the present evil world."

This remark undoubtedly caused great surprise among many comrades to whom the International Socialist Movement is the ideal of their aspirations as regards working class progress. But the truth of Comrade Herron's criticism must be brought home to the rank and file of the International Movement. At the Stuttgart Congress in 1907 the writer was a member of a commission on immigration. It was a surprise to him that this "problem" of immigration should have been thought of enough importance by Socialists to require the deliberations and report of a separate commission. If our capitalist government should greatly restrict the freedom of the workers to go from market to market in search of purchasers of their labor power, how would we arrange to have international congresses at all? In such case, of course, the congress would be composed of delegates drawn entirely from the property holding and professional classes. These would have freedom to travel in foreign countries. Workers would not. It was with these thoughts in mind that I took my seat in the commission. What I said there offended some comrades. But the

resolutions presented to the congress and by it adopted, took, generally, a progressive stand in this matter, even though it contained that modicum of milk-and-water compromise which Socialist political leaders seem always to inherit from capitalist politicians.

Nevertheless the Stuttgart congress did discuss some matters of real import and interest to the working class. There was, for instance, the subject of the relation of the political to the industrial organizations. The debates informed the delegates and the whole movement, even though they led to no very definite results.

But this year a sickish feeling creeps over one long before delegates put out to sea on their way to the International Congress. One feels very much as the dog must have felt when "Old Mother Hubbard went to the cupboard," and returned with empty hands. Here's the agenda. Look it over for yourself:

- (1) Relations between co-operative organizations and the political parties;
- (2) The question of unemployment;
- (3) Arbitration and disarmament;
- (4) International results of labor legislation;
- (5) Organization of an international manifestation against capital punishment;
- (6) Line to take up and ensure speedy execution of resolutions passed at international congress.
- (7) Organization of international solidarity.

I shall take up these subjects in reverse order.

The seventh and sixth are too vague for our understanding as to what might be done about them.

"The organization of international solidarity" is just as fine as "Workers of the world unite." We are all agreed there. I see no need for further conversation concerning the matter.

- (6) Line to take up and ensure speedy execution of resolutions passed at international congress.

The international congresses are really conferences. They have no authority over the international movement. If the deliberations and resolutions do not commend themselves to the members of the various countries, they can have no effect. Resolutions for unity of the Socialist parties will never secure unity in England. A resolution for perfect harmony between the political and economic organizations will never make the revolutionary Socialists of America support Gomperism, neither would a resolution against Gomperism cause the A. F. of L. to inform itself about Socialism or become progressive as a union movement. The various national movements as regards enforced sanction of international tactics must be left, in the immediate future as in the past, very much to themselves.

- (5) Organization of an international manifestation against capital punishment.

By the shades of Marx and Engels! What have we here? I do not recall how many are hanged every year in England and on the Continent, but in America for 125 who are annually executed according to law, capitalism leads 10,000 to commit suicide and 10,000 more to commit murder. There are five times as many workers slaughtered in the mills of Pittsburgh every year as go to the gallows in all America. More workers have been shot by police and soldiers in Pennsylvania during the past twelve months than Pennsylvania has hung in a decade. In Holland from three to five are executed annually. In Chicago, Ill., thirty persons have been hanged in twenty years, but in Cherry, Ill., 350 were burned up in a day. This one about capital punishment must have been put in as a joker.

- (4) International results of labor legislation.

This note has some slight degree of interest. We should like to know just what these "international results" are. If the congress can inform us we shall be glad if they take the trouble. The Bismarckian legislation in Germany has surely been effectual in stemming the tides of slummetry. If labor legislation in America comes either through a Bismarck or as a result of the tears and prayers of a national association of church sewing societies, we shall be glad that the results are being secured. But as yet we haven't much to report from America.

- (3) Arbitration and disarmament.

In the decade we are just entering, this subject appears to be taking the center of the stage among professional reformers. Carnegie devoted the last decade to libraries. Every town which would possibly endure having a library rammed down its throat seems to have one by this time. Anyway, giving away libraries is less spectacular than "arbitration and disarmament." It is natural that the dean of the peace society people should be the man more responsible than any other for the conditions among the iron and steel workers of America. When the old Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers made its last fight, in 1894, Carnegie's tactics were copied from those of General Weyler in Cuba. A barbed wire trocha was built around the mills, machine guns were dragged inside, and strike breakers put to work. But that was not all. Plug-uglies were sent to the company houses to turn the women and children into the streets to starve and die. "Arbitration and disarmament" preached by Carnegie in the Pittsburg district, and arbitration preached from Russia by the Czar, both amount to the same thing.

National capital brings international wars. International capital brings international arbitration. Enough international capital and we shall have disarmament to save taxes.

Carnegie and the Czar gave swing to the present movement for "world peace." When they had it sufficiently advertised the International Bureau put it on its agenda.

(2) Question of unemployment.

Theoretically some of us thought this question was answered by the Communist Manifesto. If not answered by the Communist Manifesto then certainly "Capital does not leave us in doubt as to the cause. These quite well known books lead one to surmise that where capitalism is there is unemployment—that to fight unemployment we must fight capitalism. It was once thought by those who were known as Socialists that if the mob could be stirred to raise a shout for liberty it would receive bread to stuff its mouth with.

(1) Relation between co-operative organizations and the political parties.

With this the Bureau begins the agenda, and so it will probably be taken up first. I respectfully suggest that the delegates who go by water be instructed to follow the example of the three wise men of the East who put to sea in a bowl. Thus they would bring the capitalist steamship lines to bankruptcy. Having landed in the State of Denmark, let our comrades all purchase push carts and trundle them into Copenhagen afoot. Thus the railroad companies would be forced to the wall. In Copenhagen, of course, they should not stay at the capitalist hos-

telries. Let the Danish comrades put up tents for them and furnish camp cooking outfits. Thus the congress would not be wasting its time in "hot air" arguments and foolish Marxian theorizing. It would be setting a practical hard-headed example to the international movement by starting the Socialist republic right there in Copenhagen.

It is to be regretted that discussion of the following subjects seems to have been postponed to the next congress. We respectfully submit them for consideration to the International Bureau.

- (1) Propaganda of anti-vivisection.
- (2) The organization of village improvement societies.
- (3) Legal enforcement of the use of Esperanto as a world language.
- (4) Use of reformed spelling by the English and of the Latin alphabet by the Germans as "a step in the right direction."
- (5) Intervention by the Six Powers to prevent an annual increase of more than twenty in the harem of the Sultan.
- (6) What brand of hair restorer shall be recommended by the International Socialist Movement?
- (7) Establishment of hospitals for blind mice.

Book-Selling at Meetings

By

ARTHUR M. LEWIS



THE tones of the speaker's voice fade away and are forever lost. Too often the ideas which the voice proclaimed drift into the back-ground and presently disappear. This is the crowning limitation of public speaking. The lecturer should be, first of all, an educator, and his work should not be "writ in water." The lazy lecturer who imagines that his duties to his audience end with his peroration is unfaithful to his great calling. Lazy lecturers are not very numerous as they are certain of a career curtailed from lack of an audience.

There are some lecturers, however, who see nothing of importance in their work except the delivering of their lectures. And the educational value of such workers is only a fraction of what it might be. Life is not so long for the strongest of us, nor are the results that can be achieved by the most gifted such that we can afford to waste the best of our opportunities. This article is not intended as a sermon but if as lecturers we are to be educators we must not neglect to use the greatest weapons against ignorance in the educational armory—books.

The books here referred to are not the volumes in the lecturer's own library. They, of course, are indispensable. There have been men who felt destined to be lecturers without the use of mere "book learning" but they never lived long enough to find out why the public did not take them at their own estimate.

The man who undertakes to deal with a subject without first reading, and as

far as possible, mastering, the best books on that subject would no more be a lecturer than a man who tried to cut a field of wheat with a pocket-knife would be a farmer.

Any good lecture of an hour and a quarter has meant ten to fifty hours hard reading. There is much in the reading that cannot possibly appear in the lecture. Another lecture on a related theme or one widely different, has probably suggested itself. I remember while rummaging in history to find proofs and illustrations of "The Materialistic Conception of History" which conception I was to defend presently in a public debate, gathering the scheme of a course of four lectures on the significance of the great voyages of the middle ages—a course which proved very successful when delivered about a month later.

Again, the reading furnishes a great deal of material on the question of the lecture itself which cannot be put into it for sheer lack of time. This is why a lecture always educates the lecturer much more than it does the hearer. The hearer therefore labors under two great disadvantages. First; he forgets much that he hears, and second: there is so much that he does not hear at all.

The first handicap can be removed by the printing of the lectures. The second is not so easily disposed of.

A lecturer may state in three minutes an idea which has cost many days reading. The idea has great importance to the speaker and, if he is a master of his art, he will impress its importance on his hearers. That is what his art is for. But that idea will never illumine the hearer's brain

as the lecturer's until the hearer knows as does the lecturer what there is back of it.

There is only one way in which this can be done—the hearer must have access to the same sources of knowledge as the lecturer. This does not necessarily mean that every hearer should have a lecturer's library. It does mean, however, that there are some books which should be read by both.

The lecturer himself is the best judge as to which books belong to this category. In number they range anywhere from a dozen up, according to the ambitions of the reader.

My method of dealing with this problem has been to take one book at a time, tell the audience about it and see that the ushers were ready to supply all demands. In this way I have sold more than two whole editions of Boelsche's book "The Evolution of Man." In one week speaking in half a dozen different cities I sold an entire edition of my first book "Evolution, Social and Organic." One Sunday morning this spring at the Garrick meeting at the close of a five minute talk about Paul Lafargue's "Social and Philosophic Studies" the audience, in three minutes, bought 250 copies and more than a hundred would-be purchasers had to wait until the following Sunday for a new supply. A few Sundays later Blatchford's "God and My Neighbor," a dollar volume, had a sale of 204 copies—the total book sale for that morning reaching what I believe is the record for a Socialist meeting—\$220.00. The last lecture of this season (April 1910) had a book sale of \$190 which included 380 paper back copies of Sinclair's "Prince Hagen."

These figures are given to show that this work can be done and if it is not done the lecturer alone is to blame. Anyone who can lecture at all can do this with some measure of success. There can be no sane doubt of its value. About 500 young men in the Garrick Audience

have built up small but fine libraries of their own through this advice given in this way and there is no part of my work which gives me so great satisfaction.

I never allow my audience to imagine for a moment that my book talk is a mere matter of selling something. There will always be one or two in the audience who will take that view—natural selection always overlooks a few chuckleheads.

Now let us tabulate some of the results that may be obtained in this way:

(1) By getting these books into the hands of our hearers we give our teachings from the platform a greater permanence in their minds. We not only help them to knowledge but put them in the way of helping themselves directly. This alone is justification enough, but it is not all.

(2) We encourage the publication of just those books which in our estimation contain just the principles which we regard as destined to promote the happiness of mankind.

(3) The difference between the wholesale and retail prices is often enough to make successful a lecture course which would have otherwise died prematurely of bankruptcy. Where a meeting cannot live on the collection, the book sales may mean financial salvation. The morning we sold \$220 of books at the Garrick we also took a collection of \$80. Without the book sales \$80 would have been the total receipts, and this collection was normal. Yet the Garrick meetings cost \$140 each. After we had paid the publisher's bill we had a balance from book sales of \$120 which made the total receipts not \$80 but \$200. And this is among the least important results of book selling.

Everything of course depends on the book talk. Next month I will give sample book talks which any speaker may commit to memory and use, probably with results that will be a surprise and an encouragement.



Delegates to the Recent

Convention Notes

The Preliminary Convention of the foreign speaking delegates was one of importance. Ways and means of reaching foreign-speaking peoples were discussed and a program adopted for organization among the Bohemians, Finns, Italians, Jews, Lettish, Poles, Scandinavians and Slavonians. A unique feature of their report was that it was written in the best English. The foreign-speaking delegates ably discussed every question brought before the Convention in English. This gave rise to the question, "Why should the foreign comrades so capable of handling all these questions ask for special concessions?" This brought the reply that there are millions of foreigners in this country who have not yet learned English. The desire was to carry on work of propaganda among them, in their mother tongue. Provisions to this end were made which will result in perfecting organizations everywhere, which will be directly in touch with the national

movement. The importance of this campaign cannot be over estimated. The foreign-speaking population in the U. S. is simply immense. As comrade William D. Haywood puts it, "If the foreign speaking men and women should suddenly stop work in America, not a wheel would revolve. The machine recognizes no nationality."

* * * *

Delegate Burton, a miner from Buckskin, Nevada, aside from attending the Convention, presented data upon the political situation in Nevada to the N. E. C., and returned home to take up active work of organization. He represented the state having the largest percentage of socialist votes in the Union..

* * * *

Delegate John P. Burke, of Franklyn, N.H., is all wool and a yard wide in matters revolutionary. He works hard at home and was on the job every minute at the Convention.



National Socialist Congress.

Delegate Furman, of New York, made a strong plea for an economic organization; likewise Clark Dills, of Gloversville, N. Y.

* * * *

Delegate Stroebel made a great Reading Clerk. His sonorous voice filled the hall of the Convention and we were able to hear every word he said.

* * * *

W. J. Bell, and W. W. Buchanan, of Texas, (familiarly known to all comrades as "Buck") and T. J. Zimmerman (who looked down on everybody from an eminence of 6 ft. 4 inches) at all times had the work of the Convention well "in hand."

* * * *

Delegates Leo Laukki and his wife, Esther Laukki, (to say nothing of the baby), were strong upholders of the Open Door policy to workers of the whole world. Mr. and Mrs. Laukki are two of the best comrades we have had the pleasure of meeting in a long time.

* * * *

Morris Kaplan, of Minnesota, vigorously supported all revolutionary measures at the Convention.

Frank Aaltonen, organizer for the W. F. of Miners, at Negaunee, Michigan, Delegates Kummerfield, the Detroit cigar-maker and Hoogerhyde, cabinet maker from Grand Rapids were not afraid to let everybody know where they stood. They never trimmed on any question.

* * * *

Delegate Grace Silver, from Maine, enthused everybody. Comrade Silver is not of the High Brow but of the class of Good Sense. She is a worker. You will hear big things of her before long. She is going to reach the proletarians.

* * * *

George Roewer, Jr., handled the arduous duties of secretary with an efficiency that did much to expedite the work of the Convention.

* * * *

T. H. Haines, of Memphis, made a vigorous attack on the A. F. of L. and its officials. He is a locomotive engineer and speaks from experience, having carried a "union" card in two organizations for over 30 years.

EDITORIAL

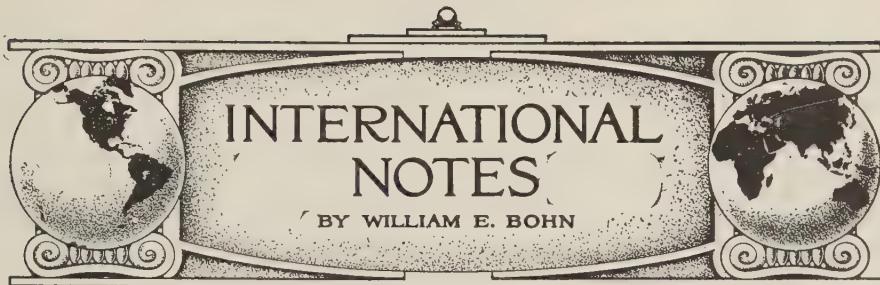
Ten Eventful Years. In July, 1900, we issued the first number of the International Socialist Review. Organized socialism in the United States was represented at that time by three warring factions of nearly equal strength, two of which were soon consolidated into the present Socialist Party. These factions were largely the personal following of a few "leaders," and their quarrels were a constant source of weakness. During these ten years capitalist production has gone on revolutionizing its processes day by day. The new processes have brought new working conditions. Little capitalists have been crowded down into the ranks of the wage-workers. Skilled laborers have found the market for their skill cut off. Craft unions which previously had kept their wages up have been beaten into submission, and all these have swelled the ranks of the revolutionary wage-workers, with nothing to lose and everything to gain. These social changes have been reflected in the Socialist Party. They have increased its membership five-fold, and have convinced the rank and file of the party that nothing but revolution will do. These men and women have learned to think for themselves. They can no longer be swayed by "leaders."

The Working Class Finding Itself. This one big fact stands out above all the long and sometimes wearisome discussions held at the Socialist Congress at Chicago in May. There were plenty of "leaders" there. They received plenty of applause. They came with a variety of vote-catching programs, which if adopted might have attracted more votes to the party in the next election or two. These leaders were good debaters, experienced in the ways of conventions. They evidently came expecting an easy victory for their pet measures. But they were baffled at every turn by the settled conviction of a majority of the delegates that the men and women whom they represented

wanted no compromise with reformers, no patching of the capitalist system, nothing to retard the onward sweep of the working class.

What the Review has Done. Not for a moment do we flatter ourselves that the Review has been the cause of this awakening of the rank and file. The Review is only the outcome and the expression of that awakening. Ten years ago our aim was "to educate the educators." We thought the principles of socialism could be mastered by a chosen few and handed down to the many. Less than three years ago we saw a new light. We came to realize that the industrial wage-workers arrive from their daily experience at a clearer view of the class struggle than any mere theorist can possibly reach. We now see that if the Review is to be an important weapon in the fight against capitalism, it must be *of, by and for the working class*. Since we have been working with that aim in view our growth has been increasingly rapid. With this issue we take a new advance step, changing to the shape of the popular illustrated magazines.

The Fighting Magazine of the Working Class. That is what our growing army of fellow-workers is going to make the Review. The class struggle between wage-workers and capitalists is each month growing hotter. Each month we propose to take a hand in each new battle. If a big strike is on in your city, send us a concise story of what the men have done and what they are trying to do. Never mind about flowery language; the Review readers want the facts. Above all, send photographs with action in them. What we did for the free speech fight at Spokane and later at New Castle, for the shirt waist strikers, the Philadelphia car men and the steel workers at McKees Rocks we can do for you when your fight is on, if you keep us in touch with the situation.



Germany. The Building Trades Lock-out and What it Means. The most significant thing in Europe just now is the lock-out in the German Building trades. For more than two months some 150,000 workers have been locked out, and the strike called in retaliation includes enough more to bring the total number of those involved up to 400,000. But it is something more than numbers which gives significance to this situation. We have in Germany at the present time the class-struggle in its most advanced form. Capital and labor are organized to the highest point thus far attained. On this account the situation is worth more than passing attention.

The most striking feature of the struggle is the fact that capitalism is the aggressor. Another thing that would seem strange to the labor leaders of a generation ago is the fact the chief weapon of capitalism is the principle of collective bargaining. It was the labor unions that introduced this principle. It was designed in the first place to put the workers on an even footing with their employers in the fixing of wages. It was bitterly opposed by the capitalist class. They talked long and loudly of individual liberty. But that is all changed now, at least so far as the German building trades are concerned.

Germany is the land of small strikes. By means of local strikes, well timed and adroitly managed, the various unions of the German building trades have gradually improved the position of their members. For years past, however, the employers' associations have been laying plans to put an end to this kind of tactics. They arranged to have all their contracts come to an end on a certain day this

spring. Then, on April 15, representatives of all the German employers' associations and of many similar organizations in other countries met in Dresden. There they drew up the outline of a labor contract which was to be presented to the central committee of the unions representing the building trades. It was reactionary in every feature, provided, among other things, for a system of recommendations which would have been a perfect, automatic black-list. But the important feature was the provision that hereafter there were to be no local contracts, no local strikes. The central committee of the unions was to accept this blanket contract and all disputes were to be settled in accordance with its provisions by this committee and that of the employers' associations. Thus was collective bargaining to be turned into a means of stifling the labor movement.

Our German comrades protest against this entire proceeding, but to a foreign observer it looks perfectly normal, and, on the whole, desirable. It is entirely in accord with socialist theory. As industry develops we expect the class struggle to proceed in an increasing scale. We expect individual conflicts to cover larger territories and to include more trades and greater numbers of workers. What we have here is what has been long foreseen and what we must expect soon to see in other lands. At the same moment, and with perfectly unified organization, all the workers having anything to do with the building trades are fighting all of their employers.

This seems highly desirable because it defines the class-struggle. Here the workers are taught by facts rather than words that their interests are identical. It is to

be taken for granted that no member of the German building trades will lack class-consciousness from this moment on.

As to the actual fortunes of war, there have been no important changes since last month. For two months now the men have held out, and there is no sign of weakening. They are being supported by a system of dues voted by the special congress of the unions involved which met in May. The bourgeois papers cry loudly for settlement. They fear that all the trades will be affected and a general panic brought about. The government has attempted to arbitrate, but the employers will not listen. It seems to be a fight to a finish.

Suffrage Reform Enters upon a New Stage. At last the mock suffrage reform bill has met the fate it deserved. It happened on May 28 in the Prussian Landtag. This bill has run a sad course from the beginning, but its defeat is an unexpected piece of good fortune.

In a speech from the throne the King declared on October 20, 1908, that a further development of the Prussian suffrage system was one of the most important problems up for consideration. Then followed the announcement that the government was engaged on the studies preliminary to the introduction of a new suffrage bill. Finally, on the 10th of February of this year, the new measure was introduced. As all the world knows, it turned out to be a mere revamping of the old three-class electoral system. It passed the lower house and went to the diet. There it was made worse in a number of respects. It was returned to the lower house, discussed with a good deal of heat, and now has finally been laid to rest.

This is surprising because of the fact that the Conservatives and Centrists had a majority and stood, for the present at least, committed to the bill. The six Social Democrats and the small groups of Liberals could expect little result from their opposition. And the mass-meetings of the disenfranchised thousands seemed useless so far as immediate effect was concerned. So long as the members of the Landtag stuck to their old electoral system they were safe from the multi-

tude. There seemed to be no reason why they should not pass the sort of bill they wanted.

But here there came into play an element which has been generally overlooked. The imperial Reichstag is elected under a law which provides for secret and equal male suffrage, just what the socialists want in Prussia. Next year there will take place an election to the Reichstag. Since they have seen the magnificent demonstrations of the socialists the Centrists have conceived a holy fear of facing the electorate in next year's imperial election. This is the secret of the whole matter. There was a point at which the people could bring their will to bear, and they did so mightily. The result has been happy beyond the fondest hopes.

If one is to judge from the bourgeois papers the intention of the government is to postpone the introduction of a new bill until after next year's election. There is too much talk of the study and consideration necessary to the framing of a new measure. Meantime our German comrades are making the most of the situation. And the German people are waking up. At a recent by-election the Social Democrats won a new seat in the Reichstag and recorded increase of twenty per cent in their vote. On all sides the prediction is freely made that next year they will get a majority of all the votes cast.

Political Action. Spain. At last the tide has turned. After all their bitter struggles our Spanish comrades have a brilliant victory to report. At the election to the Cortes held early in May Pablo Iglesias, editor of *El Socialista*, was triumphantly elected. For many years he has fought in the forefront of the Spanish movement. His victory comes as the reward for a long life of service, and socialists of all lands have cause to rejoice in it.

Besides the Socialists the Republicans made decided gains in this election. The number of their representatives is now 45. These victories of the extreme left exhibit again the futility of repressive barbarism. Ferrer is dead and other Barcelona victims still linger in jail, but the people have been aroused. Foiled in one

direction, they turn in another. Thus tyranny brings on its own defeat.

Belgium. On May 22 occurred an election to the Belgian parliament. One half of the seats in this body become vacant at a time; this year there were 85 to be filled. Of this number the Clericals secured 49, the Liberals 23, and the Socialists 13. This means a loss of one for the Clericals and a corresponding gain for the Socialists. The result would have been far different were it not for a plural voting system with which Belgium is burdened.

Denmark. In May occurred also the election to the Danish Folkething. The struggle was a hard one and our comrades fought nobly. But all they could do this time was to hold their ground.

They lost six seats and gained six new ones. So they hold now as hitherto 24 seats out of 114.

Norway. The women of Norway have recently been granted universal municipal suffrage. Since 1901 they have enjoyed a limited municipal suffrage. Suffrage was granted (1) to women who were of age and who had paid taxes on a year's income of at least \$100 in towns and 75 in the country, and (2) to women whose husbands had paid such taxes. Since 1907 parliamentary suffrage has been given to all women included in the above classes. And now the Odelsting has given municipal suffrage to all women on the same terms with men. No doubt unrestricted parliamentary suffrage will soon follow.

Socialism for Students

By Joseph E. Cohen

Not only students but workingmen can easily understand the contents of the book. The fundamental principles of Socialism are made clear by the author, and the volume is worth reading by Socialists as well as non-Socialists.—*The Modern View*.

The purpose of this pocket-size volume is the brief indication of the salient and settled points of the Socialist philosophy for the student, who is expected to fill in his knowledge by the study of the books indicated in a bibliography at the end of the book. The work is admirably adapted to that end.

—*Chicago Evening Post*.

The book would be a credit to anyone with a college training, yet "Joe," like most workingmen, had to get his education from contact with life and study of books after working hours. The result is that he gives us what is perhaps the best general and popular introduction to Socialist science and philosophy that has come from the press in recent years.

—*Amalgamated Journal*.

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By Karl Kautsky

This work was written in 1892 to explain and defend the Socialist program adopted at Erfurt which still stands practically unchanged. It is generally recognized as the most authoritative statement of the principles of modern Socialism. Until lately it has been known to American readers only in fragments. This new translation by William E. Bohn, associate editor of the International Socialist Review, will be of immense value to our American movement.

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THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES.

By the Gods! There's something new under the sun. A new "labor movement" has been launched. Its place of birth is given as Battle Creek, Mich., and it is not difficult to guess in whose brain-pan it was conceived. But there will be no battling about this new fangled affair. According to its promoters, the interests of capital and labor are identical and there is no need for labor to make a move for anything. All labor is required to do is ask and it shall receive—either a crumb or a swift kick. The prospectus guarantees that by dropping a quarter in the slot once a month there will be jobs at good pay, sick benefits, insurance, old age pensions, libraries, reading rooms, etc., and no strikes, boycotts and the like. It will be just heavenly, provided, of course, that Bro. Labor will be "reasonable" and Bro. Capital feels disposed to co-operate in the "greatest show on earth." The beginning will be slow until the "noble mission of the movement" soaks into the misled workers on the one side and the philanthropic plutes on the other, but if the consumers of gripe nuts and post mortem cereals will only do their part with increased patronage, there is nothing for the new thing from Battle Creek to do except to reach out and grab the disappearing comet by the tail and shout: "The solar system is mine!" Battle Creek "bugs" bring beesness.

Several more damage suits have been filed. The taxi cab operators of Chicago have been sued for \$60,000 by the kind-hearted bosses for whom they gathered fares because they went on strike. The men are going through each others' pockets to find out who's got all the coin and say they can't find more than 60 cents with which to satisfy the cravings of their masters. The Typographical Journal has been sued for \$50,000 by one C. W. Post, of Battle Creek, Mich., who

claims that that publication charged that he manufactured breakfast food from peanut shells. Post also has a suit pending against a Battle Creek daily paper, which stated that he did not produce breakfast food from peanut shells, and probably before the cases are disposed of it may turn out, as it has been alleged, that the food contains sawdust. At any rate the chances are good that this much mooted mystery will be cleared up when Post is placed upon the witness stand, and some other things besides.

The movement of the clothing crafts along the lines of industrialism is making progress, and there are good grounds for belief that by the time the A. F. of L. meets in St. Louis, next November, developments will have reached a point where it will be possible to organize a clothing department in the A. F. of L. The membership in nearly all the unions are demanding that some steps be taken to bring the clothing trades into a close combine, and it is probable that the alliance will include the garment workers, hatters, boot and shoe workers, glove makers, ladies' garment workers, cap makers, suspender and necktie workers and probably the journeymen (custom) tailors and other branches, such as the laundry workers, clerks, etc.

The ladies' garment workers, including the shirtwaist makers, are taking an aggressive position in various parts of the country, and there is talk that they may inaugurate a general strike for the so-called closed shop. A revolutionary spirit is sweeping through the workers in this branch of the clothing trade that augurs well for the future. They have been among the most oppressed of the toilers, and the New York shirtwaist makers' successful strike has inspired them with renewed hope and a determination to fight for better conditions.

The papermakers who were on strike against the trust have virtually won their demands. The principle at issue was recognition of the union, and this was conceded by the haughty combine, although at some of the plants, the charge is made, the underlings violated the agreement at the outset. However, matters were patched up without another walkout and the employes will gain improved conditions. One gratifying feature of the struggle was that the two organizations in the trade have buried their differences and come together, and now it is likely that they will not be forced into another strike by the paper combine. The next step ought to be an alliance or federation with the printing trades, and that is bound to come.

The United Mine Workers appear to have won their demands for an advance in wages of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent throughout the bituminous district, except in a few spots, where the contest is still being waged against stubborn operators. Even in West Virginia, the worst scab state in the trade, there has been a break in the ranks of the non-union operators and the outlook is good that great progress will be made by the miners this year in the matter of improving conditions.

W. R. Hearst, the erstwhile "savior of society," seems to be in bad. Not only have the Western Federation of Miners condemned him as an enemy of labor because the Hearst Homestake mine at Deadwood, S. D., is being run scab, which action was endorsed by the United Mine Workers of America, but the yellow boy's paper in San Francisco has been placed on the unfair list by the building trades of that vicinity because he had been attacking Mayor McCarthy and the Union Labor party. Hearst has also brought a lot of denunciation down upon him because of his fulsome praise of Taft, the "father of injunctions," and he seems to be a pretty dead one, politically.

It has been officially announced that the Western Federation of Miners have, by an overwhelming majority, voted to

join the A. F. of L. and form a mining department with the United Mine Workers to control all workers in and about the mines. In my opinion this is a step in the right direction and will not only result in greatly strengthening the miners on the political field, but will further the political movement of the workers as a whole.

Despite predictions that the organized farmers were on the point of forming another populistic movement, the agriculturalists are still fighting shy of politics, realizing that most of their members are Republicans, Democrats and Socialists, and that it would be a hard job to dislodge them from their political affiliations and swing them into a new movement with the avowed purpose in view of conquering the powers of government. So the farmers are taking a new tack and are approaching the city workers with co-operative plans. In Ohio, Michigan, Colorado, Oklahoma, Texas, and a number of other states the ruralists are proposing to combine with the trade unions to establish central exchanges or stores in which the products of union farmers may be sold to union men at reduced rates or exchanged for products that bear the union label. The idea of the agrarians is to wipe out the middlemen, who parasite upon them and reap big profits, which they are willing to divide with the city workers, and also help out the latter in their fights with the open shoppers, who are deadly opposed to the union label.

Socialism and How to Get It! This is what they say after receiving a sample lot:
"Enclosed find \$1.00, for which send me 300 Post Cards No. 11. I believe your cards are the finest thing I ever saw for propaganda work. We distributed 300 last week and are going to improve the clip as soon as we get things to going smoothly. Yours fraternally,

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ALLAN DIXON."

Send 15c to C. St. John Cole, 322½ Central Avenue, Minneapolis, Minn., and get a packet of 30 assorted propaganda cards.

Socialist Stickers. Three kinds, "Work, Beg, Steal", "Why do Workingmen Sweat", "Workingmen of the World Unite". Each three inches square, on colored gummed paper, just right to stick on a lamp post or a freight car. We mail 100 of each for 25c. Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago.

LITERATURE

Privilege and Democracy in America, by Frederic C. Howe. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Cloth, \$1.50.

The Single Taxer will welcome this book as an excellent contribution to the discussion of social problems from the view point of Henry George, but will hesitate to accept the author's concession to Socialist thought in conceding the reality of the class struggle and the doctrine of economic determinism. While making these concessions to Socialist theory Mr. Howe is still orthodox in his program holding, as he does, that free land and repeal of tariffs and other "privileges" will provide the economic basis of a free society. He is also of the opinion that combinations of capital will disappear by the adoption of this program but makes no attempt to show why large organizations of capital, maintaining the highest degree of efficiency and economy of resources, cannot be maintained under equalized competitive conditions and continue to crush rivals having a lower order of industrial equipment.

Revolution, and Other Essays, by Jack London, The Macmillan Co., 64—66 Fifth Ave., New York. Cloth, \$1.50.

Jack London writes with an iron pen and his giant sweeps bring down idols and dust-covered traditions with a crash. This power is evident in his occasional excursions into sociology as well as in his fiction. The opening essay, which gives the title to the present volume, is familiar to all readers of the Review. The volume also contains his essay "What Life Means to Me" which no doubt is treasured in many Socialist scrap books. In "The Somnambulists" he views man as "The mightiest and absurdest sleep-walker on the planet!" Covered with a thin veneer of culture he dreams "drunken dreams of self-exaltation," yet he is a parasite and exploiter of his fellows. In "The Other Animals" we find an echo of the "nature fakir" controversy of a few years ago and an exposure of the shallow pretensions of a noisy ex-

president and his feeble intellectual companion-in-arms, John Burroughs.. The essays, thirteen in all, are of a revolutionary drift. It is a book that one will often turn to for solid enjoyment and intellectual stimulus when other books prove tiresome to the jaded mind.

What is Socialism? by Reginald Wright Kauffman. Moffat Yard & Co., New York. \$1.25 net.

No contradiction is involved or reconciliation implied by the author of this book in dedicating it to John D. Rockefeller and Eugene V. Debs, for the former, as one of the foremost representatives of capitalism, will find the defense of his class regime more powerfully stated than the professional apologists of that regime have. On the other hand the argument for a reconstruction of society in accord with the demands of the Socialist movement is given with logic, clearness and power. Throughout the work the chief claims of the two systems of thought are contrasted and an appeal to history, science and experience is made to settle the rival claims which results in disaster to Rockefeller and his literary and political attorneys. The work also includes an admirable abridgment of the "Communist Manifesto" which materially enhances its value as an educational work.

The Beast, by Ben B. Lindsey and Harvey J. O'Higgins, Doubleday, Page & Co., 133 E. Sixteenth St., New York. Cloth, \$1.50.

This autobiography of the founder of the Juvenile Court of Denver is the climax of the "literature of exposure" that became the vogue a few years ago. It is a probe into the vitals of the administration of a modern city and the economic, political and social plus the thrust reveals is a horrible mess. In the pages of the work will be found the business man, the banker, the capitalist, the legal fraternity, the professional politicians, the newspapers and even the clergy, all in alliance with the "red light" district,

gambling hells, corporations and a motley collections of thugs, pimps and adventurers linked together in a brotherhood of loot and plunder through two dominant political parties. It only remains to record the fact that the "fighting judge" who scourged the two criminal parties of "The Beast" has, according to a recent dispatch, decided to align himself with the "insurgent" republicans to overthrow the criminals. His own book demonstrates the folly of his decision but a lifetime of experience frequently fails to enlighten guileless "reformers."

The Story of the Negro, by Booker T. Washington, Doubleday, Page & Co., 135 E. Sixteenth St., New York. 2 vols. Cloth, \$3.00.

In these two volumes the president of Tuskegee Institute reviews the progress and achievements of his race beginning with its primitive habita in Africa and bringing his narrative down to the present day. He confesses to having made a recent discovery which he offers to his race as consolation for the slavery the Negro endured in America. This discovery is the fact that white laborers were bought and sold in the colonies as indentured bondmen long before the first African slaver sailed into Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619. He devotes an interesting chapter to this white slave trade and contrasts it with the trade in blacks. Throughout the work the author endeavors to show a continous, though admittedly slow, progress of his race clinging to every incident or fact that tends to support his view. In considering the Negro's present status and claims he is not averse to supporting reactionary views. He vaguely intimates in the second volume what he expresses more boldly in another work, that the policy of depriving the Negro of the ballot is not objectionable to him if it includes the white workers without property. He is a good type of the adroit pleader for a subject class or race, careful not to offend the ennemis of the Negro in order to retain the patronage of some wealthy men, we believe, who have given financial assistance for his educational plans. However, the work is a sweeping view of the Negro's progress in America and

the Socialist will be glad to give it a place on his book shelf.

WHY I AM A SOCIALIST.

**Why I am a Socialist*, by Charles Edward Russell, Geo. H. Doran Company, New York, Cloth, \$1.50.



F THE reader opens this book expecting to find a restatement of Socialist principles he will be disappointed. There is no reference to surplus value, no statement of the class struggle, and no historical review of the capitalist society to vindicate the materialistic conception of history. In ignoring these the author has evidently tried to reach a class of readers to whom scientific discussions do not appeal. Comrade Russell has had an interesting career, and out of his personal experiences has gathered sufficient material to record them in a fairly large book to explain why they have driven him to the acceptance of Socialism.

And it is a formidable argument. The wreckage of wasted and misspent lives, and of those who never lived or had a chance to live, is piled up at the doors of apologists for the existing regime. If you accept the system accept its fruits, is the constant advice of Russell. Of course the argument is not a new one, but we doubt whether any writer has stated the case as forcefully as the author of the present work. If the chain of reasoning in the first chapter, for example, is sound, and the coal riots and deaths from freezing in New York's East Side tenements were the result of capitalist ownership of the coal supply, our literary policemen will have some difficulty in showing how "individual responsibility" could prevent individuals, with ten cents in their pockets, from freezing with coal selling at twelve cents a pail.

Of the fifteen chapters in the book the two entitled "The Record of Regulation" and "Dr. Sherman's Celebrated Specific" are perhaps the best. For twenty years the Sherman law has been the legal nostrum for curing the trust evil but the

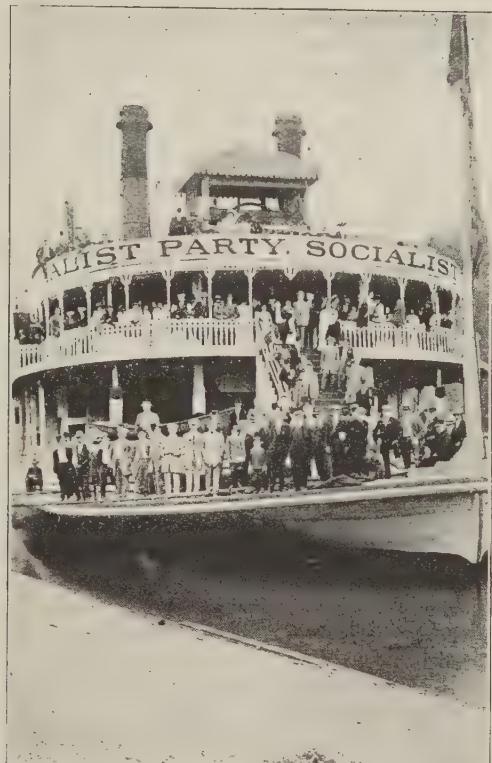


Charles Edward Russell.

Danbury hatters and other labor "combinations in restraint of trade" have been the only organizations that have felt the influence and power of the "remedy." The historical and economical reasons for the persistence of capitalist centralization are also given with logic and power. The

work is well calculated to show the gigantic character of economic wrongs and the folly of dosing them with reforms. It is an excellent book to place in the hands of "reformers" for he must be dull witted indeed, who, after reading it, cannot see the need of the social revolution.

NEWS AND VIEWS



800 Pittsburg Comrades on their first excursion of the season, down the Ohio River.
They cleared about \$400.00.

From the Western Clarion:

"Who said that the worker pays for Dreadnaughts and policemen's clubs? Why, you conceited, empty-headed, propertyless, commodity-wrapper, you do not even pay your own wages. Has Marx not said so? Inasmuch as the term "pay" in the strict economic sense, is merely expressive of a money relation existing between buyer and seller, the buyer being the party who always "pays," it follows that in the transaction involving the purchase of labor power, the capitalist does the "paying" as he alone possesses the universal "means of payment" in the form of money, so-called, the recognized equivalent of all commodities.

June Reviews Sold Out—The entire edition of 27,000 copies was sold out on

June 20th, and orders are still coming in.

This fact proves that the Review is fast becoming recognized as the Fighting Magazine of the Working Class, and that its straight-from-the-shoulder policy is receiving the solid support of revolutionary socialists all over the Country and abroad.

Over 1000 new subscribers have been received so far this month, and the following off-hand list of bundle orders will interest our readers:—

Name	State	No.
Wm. D. Haywood	Mich.	600
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"	Calif.	860
"	Oregon	220
"	Wash.	550
"	Ohio	380
"	Pa.	725
"	N. Y.	385

If you belong to a "graveyard" local, order a bundle of July Reviews to wake them up.

From Denver, Colo.—Sold 30 Reviews at street meeting last night in just the time it took to hand them out. Could have sold more but supposed the market would ease up as 24 were sold on the same corner, the previous night. I consider the Review the very best Socialist publication in America. W. G. Henry, Socialist Organizer.

From Oakfield, Me.—I started out yesterday afternoon in the rain and sold 15 Reviews and 5 more this morning. Send another package of 50 Reviews. J. E. Laskey.

From Portland, Oregon—We received the Reviews Saturday afternoon and by Sunday night had sold 315 copies. This is going some for the blanket-stiff and rough neck. T. F. Lewis.

From Hancock, Mich.—Rush 500 Reviews. They go like hot cakes in a miners

boarding house. The others literature sales are good, but nothing like the Review. Wm. D. Haywood.

From Columbus, Ohio.—Send me 50 more Reviews as I have only 20 of the 400 left. I sold 96 the first day. F. E. Heston.

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Local Philadelphia has just issued a 32 page pamphlet entitled "Unionism, Industrial and Political." It contains articles from those Socialists who took prominent part in the recent Street Car Strike in Philadelphia. Eugene V. Debs, George H. Sheaf, Luella Twining, H. B. Barren, Chas. Braungart, H. C. Parker, Chas. Sehl, Chas. W. Ervin, Paul W. Hanna, Phillips Russell and Joseph R. Cohen.

It is published especially for propagan-

da, and is therefore sold to Locals, postage prepaid at \$2 per 100. Single copy 5 cts. Cash must accompany order.

Socialist Party, 1305 Arch St., Rooms 10-12, Philadelphia.

The Materialistic Conception of History by "Dogmatist," published by the Melbourne, Australia socialists with an introduction by R. S. Ross, editor of "Socialist," is the most welcome addition to socialist literature we have seen in a long time. Short, clear and scientific this little book has come to fill a long felt need. Hitherto we have been unable to secure a brief resumé of this fundamental doctrine of the socialist philosophy. And every intelligent reader will hail this little book with real joy and gratitude. It is one thing to know the principles of socialism but it is still more important that we should render these principles available to the rank of impoverished wage workers in cheap and lucid form. The "Dogmatist" possesses that rare quality that makes for a success in socialist literature—the ability to reach great truths and cover big subjects by direct and simple short cuts. In this little book he has laid bare the Materialistic Conception of History of all its useless and labored trimmings and given us the gist of the whole philosophy in 83 concise and meaty pages.

This little book should become one of the scientific propaganda standbys of the International Socialist Movement. Neatly bound in attractive red paper cover, clear and direct in style, it is by far the best brief study we have yet seen on the subject. Heartiest congratulations to our Australian comrades who have published this book. (Melbourne, Australia.)

M. E. Marcy.

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Patriotic Plutocrats. That patriotism is the final refuge of the Steel Trust in its fight against the several hundred "citizens" of New Castle, who have been on strike against this octopus during the past year is amply proved by the following "patriotic" advertisement which appeared in the New Castle News of June 22.

THE BIG DAY JULY 4th



IS coming fast. It is a day of inspiring memories---of patriotic thoughts and addresses. It is an occasion on which the love of country predominates, and it is fitting there should be some outward demonstration. In those olden days the man or men who dared to fling to the breeze the red flag of anarchy and rebellion would have been shot, or hung to the nearest tree. Those were the days when men stood by their principles and defended them with their lives and blood, if need be.

Note the wonderful decadence in human nature. Today the RED FLAG of socialism and anarchy---more dangerous, more to be feared than the BLACK FLAG of piracy---swings to the breeze on the principal streets of our cities, and is flaunted with impunity in the faces of our military and civic officials. Let us hope that the spirit of Bunker Hill is not dead, but sleeping; and let us make a united effort to kindle anew the patriotic fire which has made the United States the best country in the world in which to live---"The Land of Liberty"---not of license; of Freedom, not of fanaticism.

COME! Join with us in celebrating the days our forefathers fought and died to institute, and as your inmost soul is thrilled with the strains of fife and drum, let us each one resolve to perpetuate our country's institutions, and to defend those principles which should be priceless to us, as they cost so much in suffering, blood and treasure.

COOPER & BUTLER

62-64 E. Washington St., New Castle, Pa.

Scabs and cossacks, corporation lawyers and courts have been used to crush the striking citizens. Meanwhile, the little cockroach local newspapers, the News and

Herald, have faithfully served the "big interests" who could deliver the coin. But it is evident that the writer of the above paid advertisement is woefully ignorant of the early history of the "star spangled banner."

We quote from George H. Preble, Rear Admiral U. S. N. in his History of the United States: "The red union ensign had been familiarly known for nearly 70 years, and nothing would more naturally suggest itself to a people * * than to utilize the old flag."

"The captain of a British transport, writing from Boston to his owners in London, Jan. 19, 1776, says: 'I can see the rebels' camp very plain, whose colors, a little while ago, were entirely red.'

Another authority says:

John Trumbull, son of "Brother Jonathan" Trumbull, who at the opening of the revolutionary war was appointed aid-de-camp of Gen. Washington, became famous as a painter of historical pictures. His first, and one of the most famous of his paintings, "The Battle of Bunker Hill", is now in the rotunda of the capitol at Wash. In this picture he has represented a red flag having a white canton with a red cross, etc.

Major-General Israel Putman on the 18th of July read to the continental troops the manifesto of the Continental Congress, signed by John Hancock * * * * * and immediately after the cannon of the fort thundered a salute as the scarlet standard of the third Conn. Regiment was unfurled. Place—Prospect Hill, Cambridge.

THE MILITARY WORKINGMAN.

By C. M. Sweet, in *The Next Step*.

There is a man in our midst who at times is idolized and highly honored. He is made a hero of and his brave deeds pictured in song and story.

He is the militiaman.

As he goes marching down the street, the patriotic say he is going to "fight for his country."

Is he going to fight for HIS country? In the majority of cases he is a working-man and does not own one inch of ground, so has no country to fight for. Almost every time he is called to the front is when a group of his fellow workingmen are striking for better conditions to exist and work under.

He is a military workingman.

All is peaceful during a strike until this man arrives. Then all hell is turned loose. The rights of all are trampled upon, and any old deed of violence put over by the capitalist is blamed on the strikers.

Who guarded the bull pen in Idaho, so there could be no interference from the outside, and no escape, so union men and women could be tortured? Who went around during the night and molested the strikers' wives? Who helped to drag Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone off to an illegal, cruel confinement?

And who held the people at bay so a carload of strike-breakers could be blown up with dynamite?

It was our military workingman, the militiaman. Hence he fights for and does the brutal deeds of an interest—the interest of capital against labor.

Therefore, being a workingman, he fights against his own interests and that of his family. He probably does not realize this. He will be called upon for brutal deeds in the future. He must rise to the heights of sublime manhood and say to the capitalist class:

"I will not be a military workingman; I am a class-conscious workingman."

The Liberty Co., calls your attention to Comrade Francisco Ferrer's book entitled "The Modern School". A copy will be sent to The Elect for 5c in stamps. Station D, Box 4, Cleveland, Ohio.

ARE YOU CIVILIZED ?

Perhaps you are, but lots of things in the dear old U. S. A., are not.

But cheer up, there is HOPE—get it—the "BARBAROUS AMERICA" number

Out August First. Price Ten Cents. Order now. **Ward Savage, Publisher, 5110 W. Madison St., Chicago.**

Party Buttons. As an accomodation to our correspondents, we supply the official party button (celluloid) at 5c each or 25c a dozen, postpaid. We do not offer lower prices in larger quantities, and we positively can not supply any more expensive button. Any house manufacturing a really attractive party button would find a large demand through advertising in this column.

The International Socialist Review and our book publishing house would never have existed but for the fact that over 2,000 socialists subscribed \$10.00 each to raise the capital required. Don't you want to help in the same way? No dividends, but you get your books at cost. Particulars on request. Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago.

Turgeneff's Revolutionary Novels.

Spring Floods, Virgin Soil, Dimitri Roudine, Smoke, Annals of a Sportsman, Liza, Fathers and Sons, On the Eve. Library edition, good cloth binding good paper; we offer them while they last at 50c each or \$3.50 for eight volumes; we pay postage or expressage. No discount. Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago.

Woman Under Socialism. By August Bebel. This is the book about which Watson has been lying so vigorously all over the South. It is also one of the best books ever written on the woman question. Cloth, 382 large pages, \$1.00 postpaid. No discount. Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago.

The Philosophy of Happiness: A Consideration of Normalism. By R. Walte Joselyn, LL.M. Contents: The Laws of Life, The Right to be Happy, The Question of Happiness, Man as an Organism, Normal Life, Expressions of Energy, Habits and Attitudes as Related to Normal Life, Activities as Right and Wrong, Standards for Conduct, The Struggle for Life, The Struggle of Man with Man. Cloth, 200 pages, \$1.00 postpaid. Normalist Publishing Co., Elgin, Ill.

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Socialist Playing Cards. Any ordinary card game can be played with them at sight. Each card carries a bright propaganda verse by Mary E. Marcy, and the picture cards are telling cartoons on capitalism by R. H. Chaplin. Price reduced to 25c a deck, postpaid, no discount. Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago.

The Class Struggle. Played like the old fashioned games of backgammon and parcheesi. Illustrates the progress and the set-backs of the revolutionary movement of the working class in the various countries. Which wins in the race toward the co-operative commonwealth? Price 25c postpaid; eight prepaid to one address for \$1.00; agents wanted. Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago.

Socialist Post Cards. Use them for all your short letters. We have twelve different kinds, space for correspondence on front of each, with propaganda matter and really good pictures of Fred Warren, Eugene V. Debs, Jack London, Edward Carpenter, Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, Lafargue, Kautsky and others. Sample set mailed for 10c; 100 assorted cards for 50c; 1,000 by express prepaid for \$2.25. Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago.

Six per Cent and Safety. This publishing house is 24 years old, has paid up capital of \$35,000, and owes less than \$10,000. Can use about \$2,000 more at six per cent per annum, payable on six months' notice. Can also pay 4% on loans payable on 30 days' notice. Safer than most banks; references on application. Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

How do You Like the Review Now? We are ten years old this month, and we are growing. With this issue we change to the shape of the other illustrated magazines. We are already giving more reading matter and more pictures than any other socialist magazine in the world, and more for the money than any capitalist magazine, with the exception of a few of the most prosperous ones, which are mainly supported by advertising. But we have only begun to grow. In our present shape it will be twice as easy to sell copies or to get subscribers. Our June edition is already sold out as we go to press with this issue, and it looks as if our June receipts would break all records. Our stockholders expect no dividends, and all the money that comes in will be used to make a still better magazine. This month's issue is over 26,000 copies. We believe we can bring the paid circulation up to a hundred thousand in less than a year. We surely can if all our friends take hold and help.

Pay Ahead for a Year. One thing that **YOU** can certainly do some time within a few days is to send one dollar for your own subscription one year. Don't ask us to give you a premium for doing this. The Review is going to be worth to you a good deal more than the dollar, and the premiums, of which we shall speak later, are given as pay for the time of those who hustle for subscribers. If you want the Review to grow, see first that your own name is on the subscription list.

Talk to your News Dealer. Ask him why he does not keep the Review for sale. He may say it is because he can't get copies returnable as formerly. That's right, he can't. We tried the experiment of sending returnable copies to dealers, and the return charges on unsold copies together with the cost of printing amounted to much more than we received from the news company. So we quit, and no dealer can get a copy of the Review without paying for it, whether he

sell it or not. But any dealer by ordering in advance can get the Review from his news company for seven cents. We don't sell very small lots to dealers from this office; too much trouble on both sides. But for 90c. cash with order we will mail five copies three months. Or for \$2.00 cash with order we will mail five copies eight months or ten copies four months. That makes the rate five cents a copy, so that if a dealer takes us up on the \$2.00 offer and sells half his magazines he doesn't lose a cent; if he sells them all he makes twice as much as on most of the magazines he sells.

You Can Buy at These Rates yourself if you have time to look after the copies. And remember that \$5.00 a hundred is absolutely our lowest rate, no matter how big the order is. Comrade Tom J. Lewis, Organizer of Local Portland, Oregon, of the Socialist Party, ordered 400 of the June issue in advance of publication, and then telegraphed for 150 more. Most of these were sold at open air meetings; nothing else is half so good as the Review for this. The profit on sales is a big help in covering the expenses of the meetings. Comrade Heston of Cleveland ordered an equal number at the same rate, and many of his sales were through dealers. See what you can do in your town.

Extra Foreign Postage. The special rates just named apply only to the United States outside of Chicago. Chicago comrades must call at this office for their bundles. Extra postage to Canada one cent for each copy in the bundle; thus the rate for 5 copies 3 months is \$1.05 instead of 90c., and five copies 8 months will cost \$2.40 instead of \$2.00. To other countries the price is 8c. each on orders for 10 to 39 copies, and 7c. on orders for 40 or more.

Subscription Cards Free with Books. Send us the advertised retail price of any books published by us, and we will not only send you the books by mail or express prepaid; we will also send

you for each dollar a Subscription Card, which when filled in with an address and mailed to us will bring the Review one year to a new subscriber within the United States. For example, for \$2.00 we will mail you the four books by Paul Lafargue advertised on another page, and also two yearly subscription cards. You can easily sell these cards at \$1.00 each to some people who want to receive the Review regularly, and there you have your money back to start the game over again. You can't lose! Always keep one or two of these cards on hand; they save labor at both ends of the line. If you don't want books, we will mail you five of the cards for \$3.00, or fifty for \$25.00. Nothing else so good for a traveling organizer or lecturer to carry.

Warren's Defiance to the Federal Courts. Under this title we have just issued in handsome style on extra book paper, with portrait on cover, the two great speeches delivered by Fred Warren before the U. S. District Court at Fort Scott, and the U. S. Circuit Court at St. Paul. Price 10 cents; \$1.00 a dozen; \$5.00 a hundred, prepaid.

July Combination. For the benefit of comrades who want bottom prices on the best propaganda books, but who can not use so many as 100 books of one title, we offer the following literature by mail or express prepaid for \$5.00:

10 Warren's Defiance.....	\$1.00
10 Spargo's The Socialists.....	1.00
10 Debs' Unionism and Socialism	1.00
10 Connolly's Socialism Made Easy	1.00
10 Simons' Class Struggles in America	1.00
10 Wason's The Wolves (a Fable)	1.00
10 Communist Manifesto	1.00
10 Socialism, Utopian and Scientific	1.00
10 Marx's Value, Price and Profit	1.00
10 July or August Review.....	1.00

Total value.....\$10.00

If requested we will add to this combination free of charge inside the United States fifty assorted back numbers of the Review. Ask for July Combination.

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AS A MAN THINKETH

By James Allen

The object of this remarkable volume is to stimulate men and women to the discovery and perception of the truth, that "they themselves are makers of themselves" by virtue of the thoughts which they choose and encourage; that mind is the master-weaver, both of the inner garment of character and the outer garment of circumstances, and that, as they may have hitherto woven in ignorance and pain they may now weave in enlightenment and happiness.

CONTENTS:

- Thought and Character.
- Effect of Thought on Circumstances.
- Effect of Thought on Health and the Body.
- Thought and Purpose.
- The Thought-Factor in Achievement.
- Vision and Ideals.
- Serenity.

It is little books like this that give one higher ideals and renewed inspiration. They make one forget "circumstances" and "environment" and think only of the power that lies within oneself. "Thought tends to take form in action," and Mr. Allen shows how practical this can be made and what a force it can become in the life of anyone. "You will be what you will to be" is not merely a poetical thought, but a practical truth. With a definite ideal in his mind, believing in it and working toward it, Mr. Allen claims a man can make of himself what he wills. "**As a Man Thinketh**" is a book to make a friend of and may be studied for years without exhausting its truths. 68 pages, printed in two colors on exceptionally heavy Canterbury laid paper.

The Price of AS A MAN THINKETH, bound in green silk cloth and mottled boards, and stamped in gold, is 50 cents.

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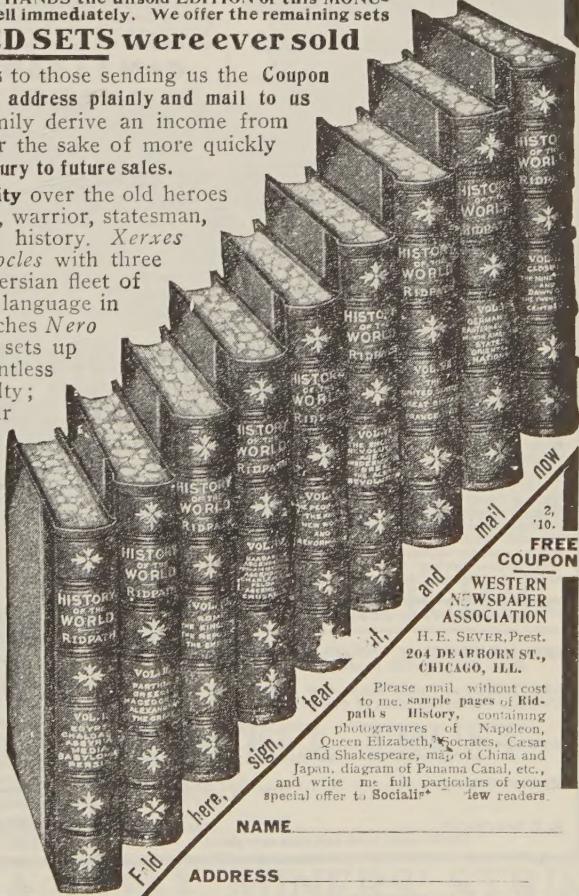
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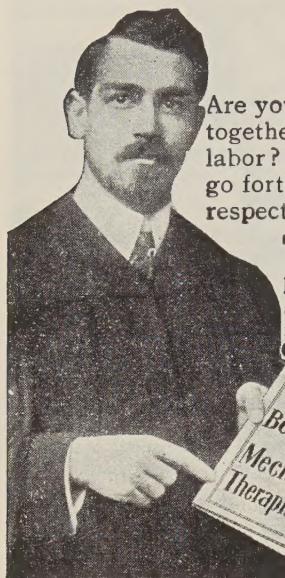
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